

ONTARIO HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY OF ENGLAND

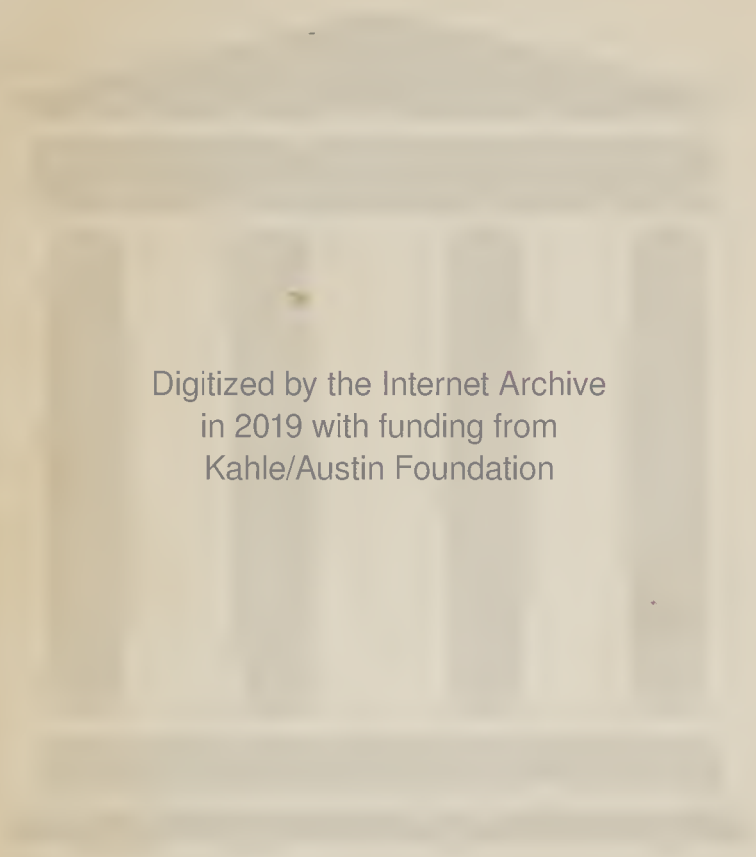


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TORONTO
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1. Describe the conditions & appearance
in ruling India especially before
British occupation.
2. What has distinguished
British rule?
3. How did British rule begin.



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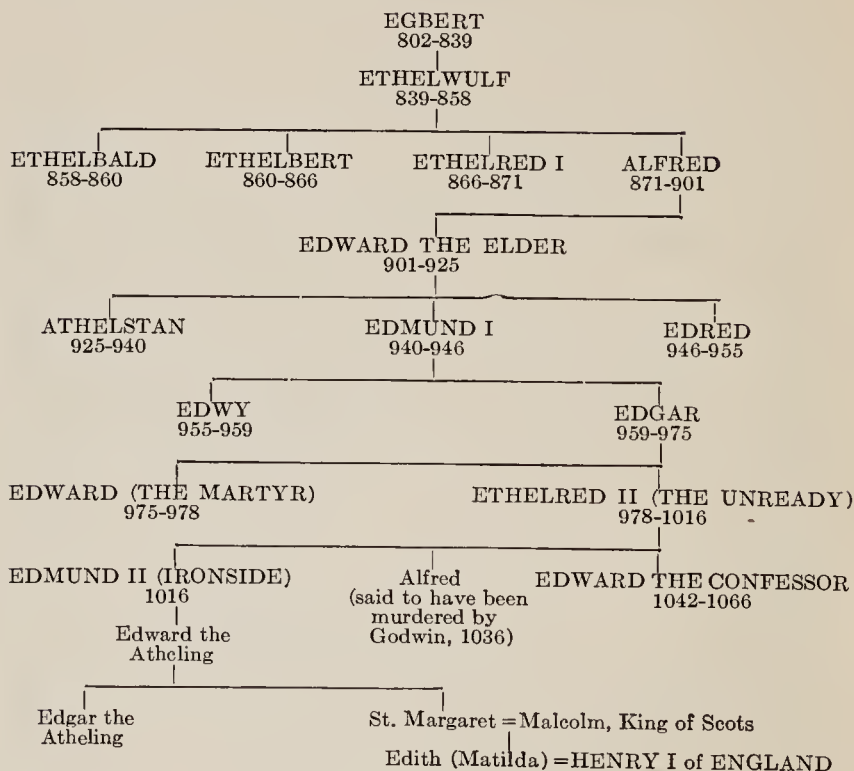
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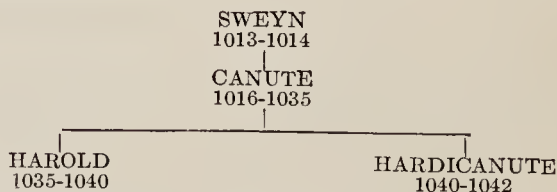
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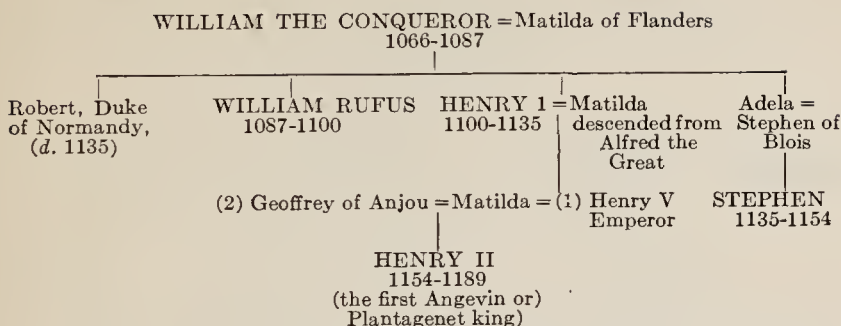


2.—THE DANISH KINGS

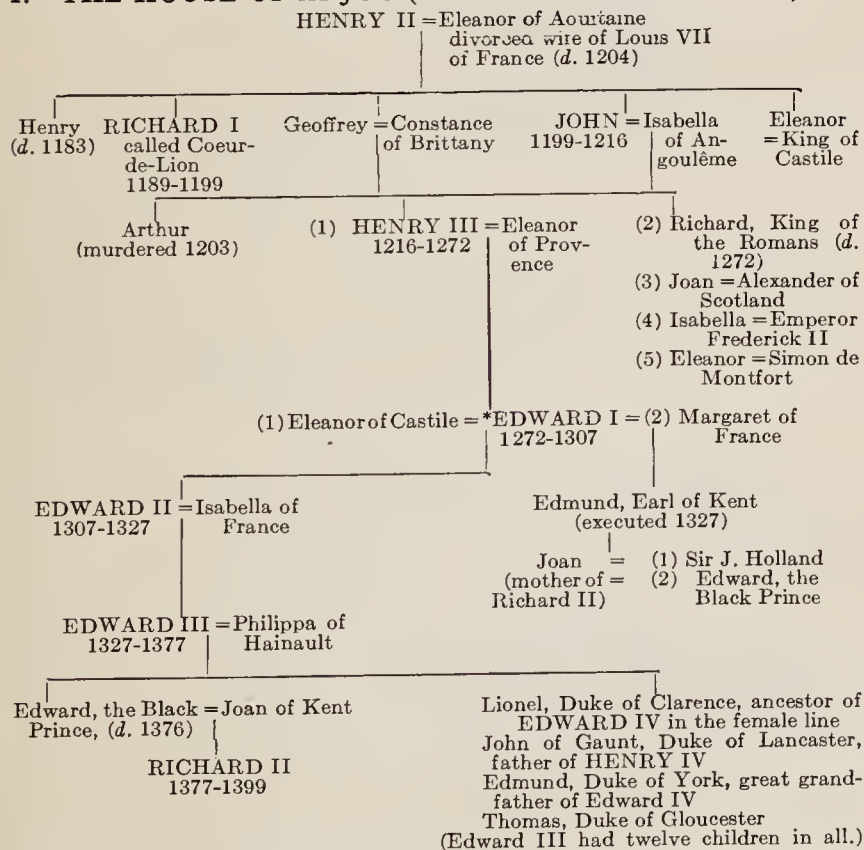


NOTE.—Harold, who succeeded Edward the Confessor, was of royal blood on his mother's side, being the great-great-grandson of Harold Bluetooth, ancestor of Sweyn and Canute.

3.—THE NORMAN KINGS

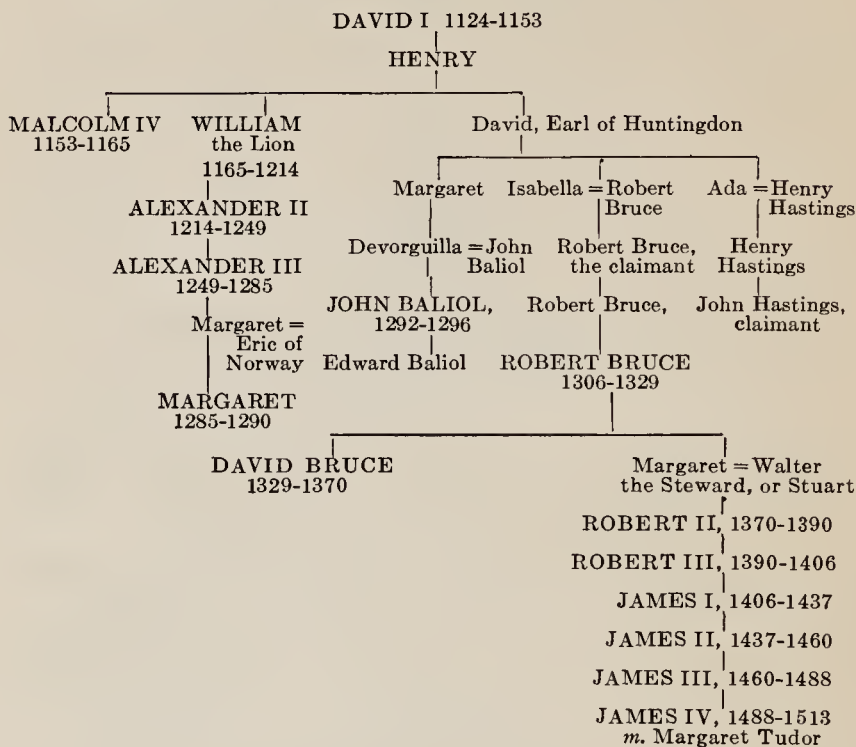


4.—THE HOUSE OF ANJOU (THE PLANTAGENET LINE)

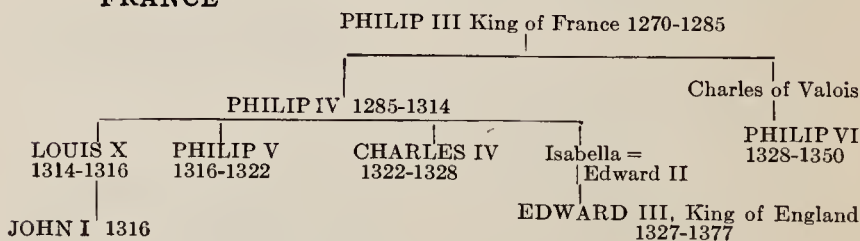


* Eleanor bore Edward I in all four sons and nine daughters, and Margaret bore him two sons and a daughter.

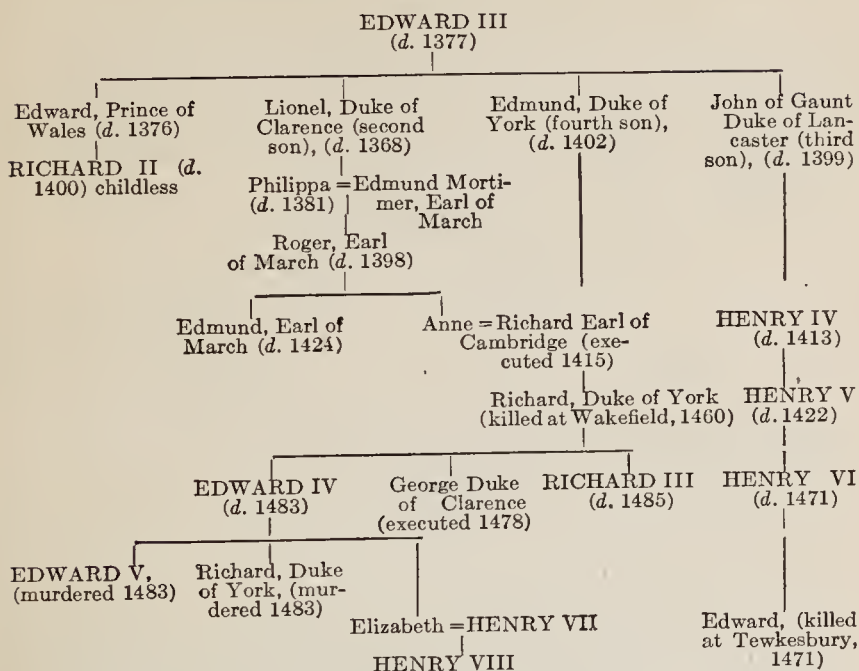
5.—THE CLAIM TO SCOTLAND OF BRUCE, BALIOL, AND HASTINGS, AND OF THE STUARTS



6.—THE CLAIM OF EDWARD III TO THE THRONE OF FRANCE

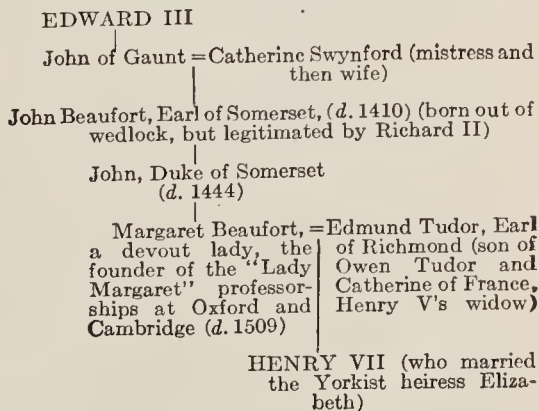


7.—THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK

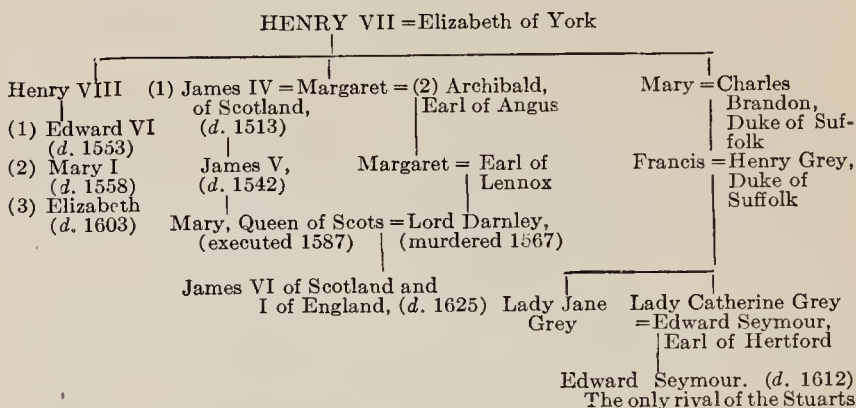


NOTE—It will be seen that the Yorkist line, descended on the *male* side from a son of Edward III, younger than the Lancastrian ancestor, was yet on the *female* side descended from an elder son.

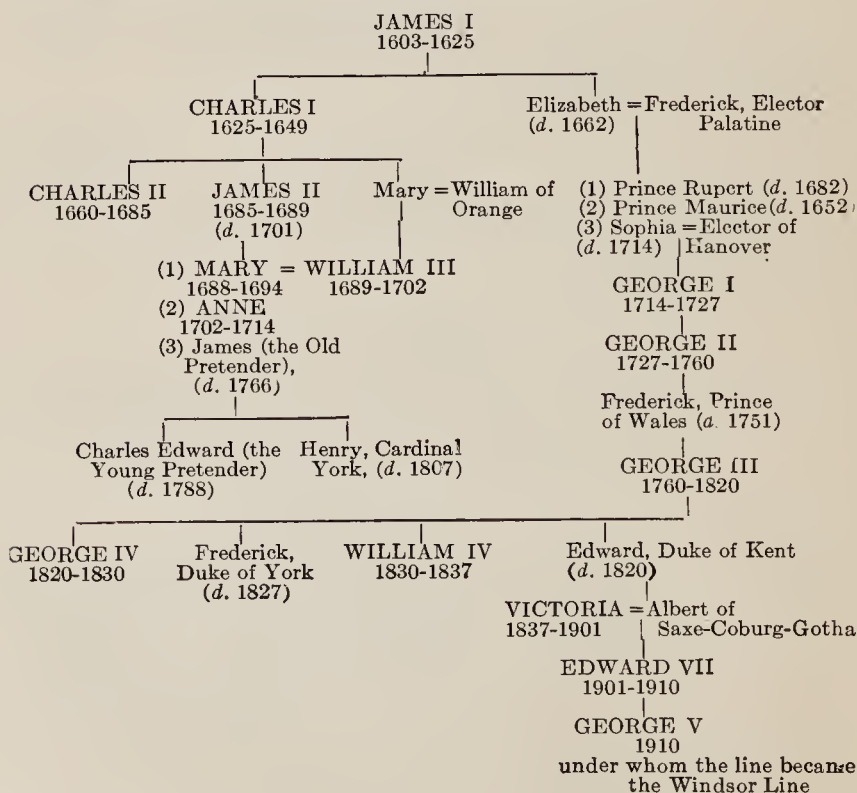
The following table shows the Lancastrian descent of Henry VII:



8.—THE LINK OF THE TUDORS WITH THE STUARTS



9.—THE STUARTS AND THE HANOVERIANS



HISTORY OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHY AND RACE

1. THE ISLAND STATE AND ITS RESOURCES

Britain, "The Mother of Parliaments."—The British Isles include less than one four-hundred-and-thirtieth part of the habitable globe; yet probably no other land has had such a wide influence upon mankind. To-day one-quarter of the surface of the earth is under British rule. Britain has surpassed even Rome, the greatest of ancient empires. Though Rome created an impressive system of law and discipline, she did not mature freedom. She conquered many states, but she did not found new nations of her own blood. What Rome failed to do, Britain has done. Her frontier is the sea, and during many centuries only rarely has a hardy invader set foot on her shores. Thus left to herself she became the mother of free institutions, for it was she who first set up the elected parliament copied to-day by all free nations. She has also established all over the world great daughter states and trained them in her own principles.

The Central Position of Britain.—To the ancient world Britain always seemed remote. The islands were often wrapped in fog and had what southern peoples thought a harsh climate. Not until Christian civilization reached northern Europe did Britain become important. Then, no longer lost in pagan isolation, she began to play a greater part in the world. The sea, which seemed to sepa-

rate her from Europe, really gave her ships access to all its shores. Germany, France, Spain, and Italy could be reached without difficulty as soon as the people of Britain learned to be at home on the water. When, in due time, America was discovered, Britain, which once had been only a distant land off the coast of Europe, was found to occupy a central position on the globe. She lay between Europe and America and was soon in touch with the New World as well as with the Old. A study of her position on the map will show how natural it was that she should then become the centre of world commerce.



THE LAND HEMISPHERE, SHOWING THE CENTRAL POSITION OF BRITAIN

The Three Political Divisions.—The three political divisions—England, Ireland, and Scotland—were, until modern times, separate kingdoms. The western shores of England are mountainous, and few influences have reached her from that side. It is on the side nearest Europe that England is open. The majority of her rivers empty on that coast; there, too, is her most fertile land, and no ranges of moun-

tains bar the way to the interior. The north of Scotland is also mountainous, and thus hard of access, while Ireland, except for the coast of Meath, on the side near England, has a cordon of mountains surrounding the great boggy plain of the interior. It is not strange, then, that England, easily entered from Europe and with no natural barriers to check advance, should have attracted assailants when Ireland and Scotland escaped. But her misfortunes brought some advantage; far more than either of her neighbours she felt the stimulating influence of contact with other peoples.

Climate.—"Father Ocean," it has been said, "has a bias toward England." The influence of the warm winds sweeping across the Atlantic to her shores brings a mild climate to latitudes that in America are Arctic. It is strange to think that London is in the same latitude as parts of Hudson Bay. England rarely has severe cold. The average difference of temperature between the warmest and the coldest months of the year is not more than twenty-five degrees, and changes in the seasons are so slight that her people can live an outdoor life throughout the year. There is, for instance, no month when rowing ceases on the Thames or when frost wholly forbids ploughing. Winds are stronger and more rain falls in England than in the adjacent regions of the continent. Charles II, who had dwelt in many lands, said that the best climate was one which permitted men to be abroad with pleasure, or at least without trouble and inconvenience, for the most days of the year and the most hours of the day. This condition, he thought, prevailed in England more than in any other country in Europe, and without doubt it has helped to make the English an active race.

The abundant rain helps to fertilize the soil; an English summer landscape has usually a wealth of green turf and of beautiful trees, shrubs, and flowers. The most useful domestic animals thrive in the English climate; thus the English race-horse and the short-horned Durham cattle

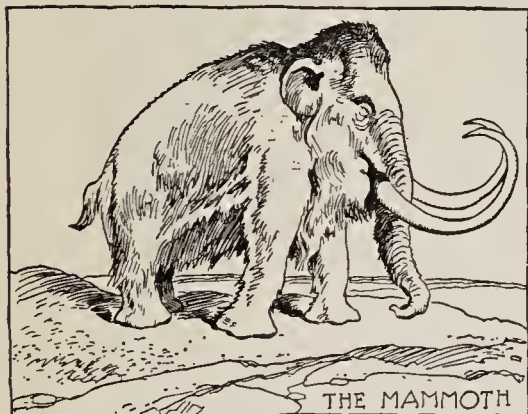
represent the finest types of their species. The rich pasturage favours especially the rearing of sheep; English wool has for centuries been recognized as of superior quality, and its manufacture has long been a great industry. On the other hand, England has too much rain and too little sunshine to produce delicate fruits; the grape does not flourish there, and the climate strikes the people of southern Europe as gloomy and depressing.

Natural Resources.—Nature has not bestowed her favours equally upon the three divisions. Ireland possesses slight mineral wealth; she is without the iron and the coal necessary for a varied industrial life, and linen is the only great manufacture in which she leads. One-seventh of Ireland is bog. The abundant rainfall, which clothes the country in a rich verdure, robs it of sunshine and makes the harvest season so late that sometimes wheat and oats are not reaped until October and November. Ireland is chiefly a grazing country and rears nearly as many horned cattle as England. Scotland, too, has spare natural gifts. The rugged Highlands of the north—more than half her soil—give but a scanty reward to agriculture and are not rich in minerals. In the south, also, are barren uplands rising sometimes to the height of three thousand feet. Between these regions, however, lie the Lowlands, only about one-sixth of Scotland, but so rich in soil and in mineral treasures as to be the most important part of the country. Because coal and iron are found there close together, great industries have sprung up, chief among them the ship-building of the Clyde. England (including Wales) is the largest, the most fertile, and the most varied in mineral wealth of the three divisions of the United Kingdom. She has rich supplies of nearly every mineral of economic value. Though for long centuries England's wealth lay in agriculture, in modern times her minerals have made the manufactures of first importance. The toilers in her factories have so increased in number that regions sparsely settled two hundred years ago now have a dense population, and

she is dependent upon other countries for much of her supply of food.

2. THE RACES OF BRITAIN

Palæolithic Man.—The earliest inhabitants of Britain are known to us only by some scanty evidence of their



THE MAMMOTH

Now extinct; thick fur unlike present elephant; tusks eight or nine feet long

work and habits. They hunted animals which have long since vanished from Britain, not only the huge mammoth, now extinct, but also the reindeer and the musk-ox, the elephant, the lion, and the tiger. They had for dwellings natural

caves which must have been damp and dark. They had not learned to use metals. For weapons in their rough fights with beasts and with one another, they had only the clubs and the stones which lay about them. In time their skill increased, and they



THE MUSK-OX

Now found only near the Arctic Ocean in North America

chipped stones into axe-like implements and made rough cutting tools and spear-heads of flint. They shewed, too, an artistic sense, for on the bones which lay about them in their cave dwellings they scratched vigorous drawings of the mammoth, the horse, and the reindeer. We call their

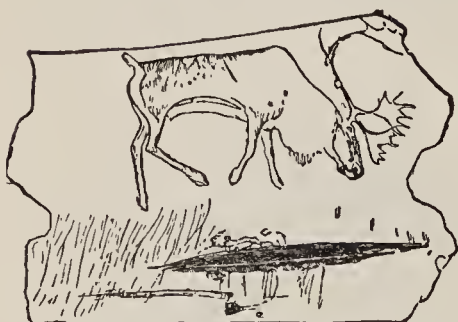


The way in which a palæolithic implement may have been used



PALÆOLITHIC FLINT IMPLEMENT

The two edges are sharp.

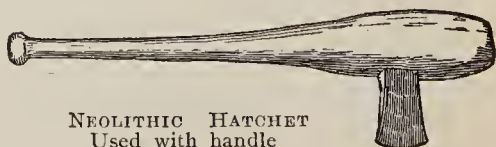


THE HIGHEST EXAMPLE OF PALÆOLITHIC ART

Incised on an antler found in a cave

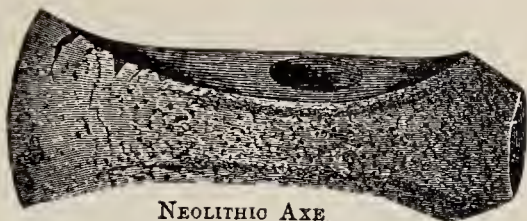
culture Palæolithic (Old Stone), because their rough stone implements are the first and oldest used by man. A mighty change in nature brought a vast covering of ice and drove not only elephants and tigers but man himself from Britain.

Neolithic Man.—Before this Glacial Age Britain had been connected with Europe by land. During that change it became an island, and it was across a strip of sea that came the race from the south which began again to



NEOLITHIC HATCHET
Used with handle

people the land. They, too, used only stone implements, but they ground their axes and adzes into shapes sometimes beautiful. They seem to have tilled the ground. Like ourselves, they had such domestic animals as dogs, horses, pigs, goats, and oxen. They learned to make cloth. They reared temples; the vast ruins of Stonehenge, near Salisbury, contain great stone columns hewn out by a people who had no iron implements. They showed reverence for their dead and laid them away in tombs, or barrows, of earthwork. When this early people learned the use of the bow and arrow, they made a great advance, for then they could secure for food birds as well as beasts. We call their culture Neolithic (New Stone), for their stone implements are of a newer type and highly finished.



NEOLITHIC AXE

The Age of Copper and Bronze.—The Neolithic race carried on trade with continental Europe. In time metals came into use for implements, and it was a great step forward when Neolithic man turned from stone to use even so soft a metal as copper. It is easily worked, and he may have learned to harden it by some process now lost. In any case, he learned to mix with copper ten per cent of tin, and thus to form bronze, which is so hard that of it are made swords and other weapons. In time bronze was widely used in Britain, and there exist still many beautiful swords, daggers, knives, and axes made hundreds of years before Christ by descendants of the people who once had only stone implements. While the point is disputed by some, it seems likely that it was the early Neolithic race which turned from stone and learned to use copper and bronze, and that the race still survives in the Gaels of Ireland and Scotland.

The Iron Age.—It was members of the wide-spread Celtic race who first brought to Britain implements of

iron. The Romans called the Celtic tribe which crossed to the island Britons, and from them the whole land was named. The Britons were tall and fair-haired, and with their iron weapons this strong race was able to drive back from the best parts of what is now England the badly-armed Gaels. The new-comers were not savages. They had in some respects an advanced culture. They were skilled in making pottery. They were skilled, too, in agriculture and carried on brisk trade with neighbours on the continent. They were warlike. When the curtain is lifted on early Britain, we find its Celtic people in the height of their vigour. They were divided into tribes, often at bitter strife with one another. In the north and west were the Gaels whom they had driven back.*

The Teutons.—About the beginning of the Christian era the Romans came to Britain. Their legions held the outpost during some four centuries, but they intermingled hardly at all with the natives and in the end withdrew from the country. Their occupation of the island was not unlike that of the British now in India. In the fifth century, in the wake of the retiring Romans, new conquerors from the north appeared, the tall, fair-haired, blue-eyed barbarians known in history as Germans, or Teutons. They drove back the Celtic Britons to mingle with the Gaels. The Teutons still occupy the best parts of Britain, for the Englishman of to-day is their descendant. The British people are a mixed race. England and the southern part of Scotland are peopled chiefly by these latest comers, the Teutons, from northern Europe. In the other regions, including Ireland, still dwell the descendants of the Britons and the Gaels.

The Briton of the Present Day.—The pirate Teuton, who thus settled in Britain, has become the modern "John Bull," the typical Englishman. He is ruddy, broad-shouldered, in every way solid, a plain man, well-to-do,

*In the Royal Ontario Museum at Toronto can be seen a great collection of the implements of all the early stages of culture in Britain.

fond of his own comfort. Though he cares little for intellectual things, he is honest, resolute, and loyal, anxious to do his duty, and good-natured, though sometimes irritable and unreasonable. Such is the picture which the Englishman likes to draw of his own average self. The Scot, in the rugged northern half of the island, has carried on a stern war with nature, and has acquired, in consequence, enterprise, alertness, and caution. He has, also, keen insight and acute powers of thought. Yet he failed to produce as advanced a culture as the English. Of Ireland the earlier history differs strangely from the later. Even Rome did not conquer Ireland, which also suffered little from the Northmen when they desolated England. Conquest came when, in the twelfth century, the weak state of Ireland gave the English aggressor his opportunity. She had preserved the old Celtic clan system, which divided the land among a number of powerful tribes. Thus she lacked unity among her own people and was not strong enough to throw off her assailant. Since that time the bitter strife between the English and the Irish has gone on. Hospitable, gay, shrewd, and witty as are the Irish people and in no sense inferior to their neighbours in mind or body, they yet reveal in national character consequences of the tragedy of their history. Irish society shows to this day the cleavage between the conquering and the conquered race. In few other countries of Europe have poverty and famine wrought such havoc. These evils have forced her people to emigrate in numbers so great that Ireland has now only about half the population which she had eighty years ago.

The British Love of Outdoor Pursuits.—The classes which have led in English life have never been dwellers in towns. Except for a few months in the London season, they still prefer the country, and they relieve the monotony of rural life by outdoor pastimes. This taste for sport is, indeed, a national characteristic. The climate, though mild, is severe enough to encourage action rather than voluptuous ease. English youth play boisterous games,

and the hardy pleasures of the hunting field have many devotees. M. Taine, an acute French critic, found that the men and women of England were more robust and had less sensitive nerves than the people of France and that even the horses were larger and stronger. An English artisan, the same writer thought, could work without fatigue longer than a Frenchman and could in a day accomplish twice as much with his hands as his foreign rival. Operations in English hospitals are less frequently fatal than are those of the same class in France. The islanders, while lacking in some of the finer qualities of wit and artistic insight, are a vigorous type, full of energy, delighting in strong meat and drink.

The Energy of the British.—It is this quality of energy that has carried the British as pioneers to all parts of the world. No other European race travels so much. The average Englishman uses the railway seven times as often as does the Frenchman. From pure love of action the Englishman explores the least-known regions of the earth. He is eager for facts and reality but impatient of theory. In political life the nation has fixed its attention upon the thing which could be done at the time and has cared little to be logical. The type has its defects. Strength of purpose makes the Englishman masterful and sometimes exacting, so that he is respected rather than loved by other nations. He lives upon an island and is himself insular, self-contained, often, indeed, hard, cold, and unsympathetic. His demeanour is grave. In contrast with the Frenchman and the Italian, no animated gesture accompanies his speech, which is low in tone, laconic, and direct. Beneath this impassive surface often lie strong affections and deep beliefs. Christian faith and hope have played, and still play, a large part in the nation's life.

The Population of Britain.—At the Norman conquest the population of England appears to have been rather more than two million. Ireland and Scotland were relatively more populous then than now, and perhaps the

islands had, in all, three or three and a half millions of people. The mediæval period saw only a slight change, but since the reign of Henry VII the population has steadily increased, except in Ireland, where, during the past seventy years it has declined. The two islands now contain about 47,000,000 people. Probably 16,000,000 people of British descent live in other parts of the empire which Britain has built up, and their fellow-subjects of different origin number, in addition, some 350,000,000.

The English Tongue.—The inhabitants of this empire speak a great variety of languages. English is the mother tongue of nearly 65,000,000 and it is also the speech of the vast majority of the 110,000,000 of the United States. Yet a hundred years ago it was the tongue of little more than 20,000,000 in all. At base it is a Teutonic language, but it has added so many French and Latin elements that it is readily understood by the peoples of both northern and southern Europe. Already English is the dominant tongue in North America, Australasia, and South Africa; it is heard in every great seaport of the world and tends to become the language both of international commerce and of diplomacy. By this ready medium English moral and political ideals are gaining ever wider currency. William the Conqueror ruled about 2,000,000 Englishmen; his successor now on the throne holds sway over nearly one-fourth of the inhabitants of the earth. The despised tongue of the people whom William conquered has become the language of a noble literature and of the two greatest commercial states of the world. In reading the history of Rome we are haunted by the knowledge of ultimate failure. The story of Britain, on the other hand, is one of growing power to the highest point of achievement in the present.

CHAPTER II

BRITAIN BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

1. THE ROMAN CONQUEST

Culture in Ancient Britain.—Britain was so little known to Europe in ancient times that when an occasional traveller went to the island it was in much the same spirit of adventure that the Briton himself now shows when he seeks



THE TRIBES OF BRITAIN

the wilds of Africa. Reports reached Rome of a land of wild mountains and marshy plains and forests, without towns or even houses, and of naked, warlike savages, so inured to hardship that when they took refuge in morasses they could live for days buried to the neck in slime. Yet the Britons had already something like civilization. Visitors to the islands were surprised at the large population, the many villages, the herds of cattle, the

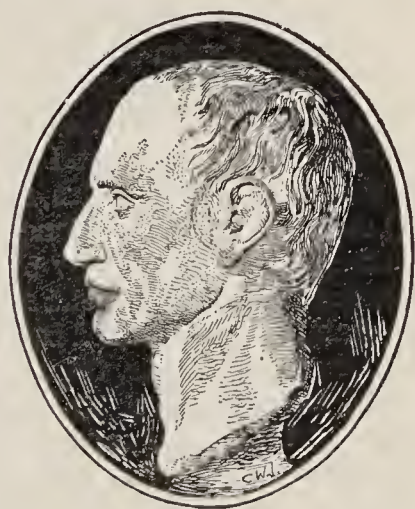
horses and chariots, and the extensive cultivation of grain. In the south and west were tin and lead mines. The Britons delighted to array themselves in cloth of flaming colours. The men wore long hair and shaved their faces, with the exception of the upper lip. A rude hospitality was general, and music and athletic games aided the entertainment of the guests. Though vigorous in war, the

Britons were not an industrious race; like the Gauls, their neighbours, they were vain, idle, and quarrelsome.

Druidism.—The British tribes were ruled by chiefs whose power was great but not absolute, for the freemen of the tribe decided important matters. Their religion, Druidism, still remains vague and almost unknown to us. The priests professed to know how the sun and stars influence man's life. They taught that the soul lives after death. The Druids worshipped, not in temples built by man, but in oak groves; and the worshippers looked upon ghastly spectacles when Druid priests offered in sacrifice condemned criminals, who were confined in huge wicker baskets and burned. The priests surrounded themselves with mystery, taught their students in the seclusion of remote forests, and would not commit Druid doctrines to writing, lest the mysteries should be learned from any one but the priests. These were the schoolmasters and the judges of the Britons. In time of danger Druid bards went about the country, and with verse and song aroused the warlike passions of the people.

The Coming of Julius Caesar, 55 B.C.

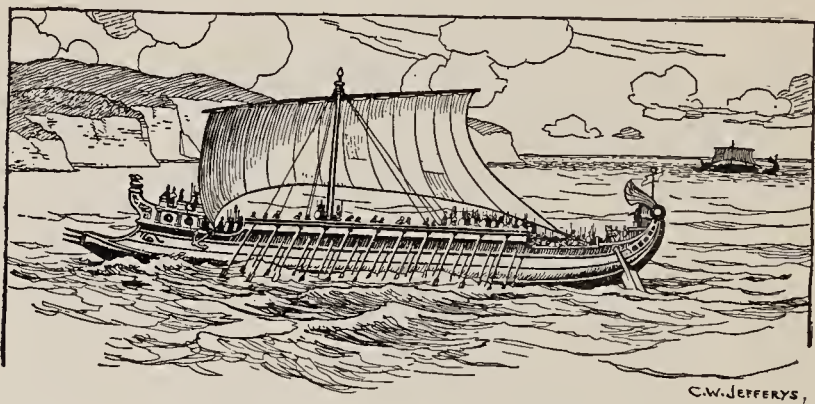
—Into this rude world penetrated at last the imperial Roman. When Julius Caesar had conquered Gaul, he found before him a further task. Beyond Gaul was Britain, a land of mystery, which might become a refuge for the defeated Gauls. Caesar wished to judge for himself, and in the summer of 55 B. C. he made a hurried expedition across the Strait of Dover. After a short



JULIUS CAESAR

campaign he retired, but he returned in the next year with

a force numbering more than twenty-five thousand men. The Britons, warring among themselves and awed by the discipline of the Roman legions, promised to pay tribute to Rome and gave hostages for their good faith. After this submission the Roman general once more withdrew.

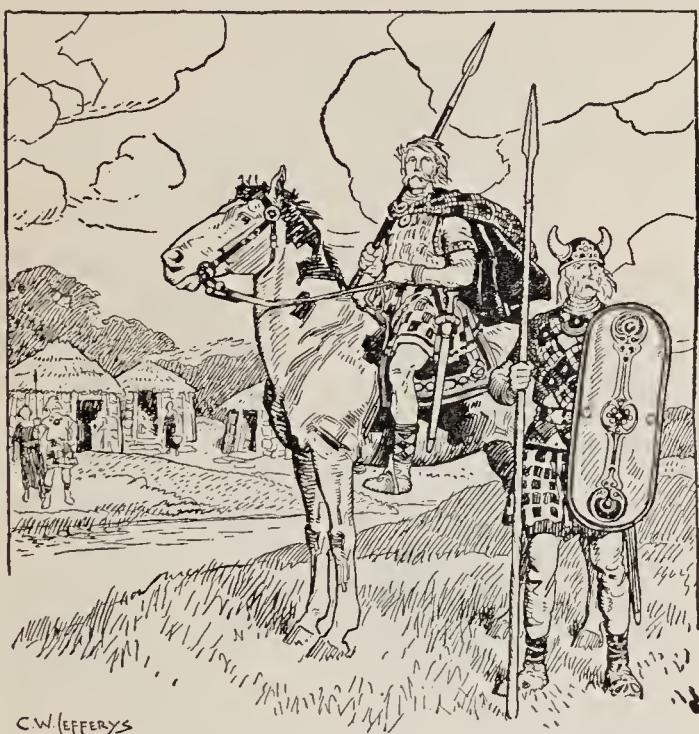


A ROMAN GALLEY OFF THE COAST OF BRITAIN

When the news became known at Rome, the senate decreed twenty days of thanksgiving for this new and glorious conquest, and Britain became, and long remained, a province of the Roman empire.

The Roman Conquest.—For ninety years, however, no attempt was made to hold Britain in real subjection. The country seemed poor and offered little to the ambition of a Roman proconsul. But at length, in A.D. 43, Rome took up seriously the task of conquest, and the emperor Claudius himself made the journey to the remote island. The Britons did not yield without a fierce struggle, but they were no match for disciplined soldiers. Caradoc, or Caractacus, leader of the Silures, the most stubborn of the tribes, was taken, through treachery, about 51 and carried in chains to Rome. When the captive saw the magnificence of the imperial city, it aroused in him, he said, wonder that Rome should envy the poor huts of the Britons. The conquerors behaved with ruthless brutality. They publicly flogged Boadicea, widow of the chief of the Iceni, a British tribe,

and subjected her and her two daughters to vile outrage. Maddened by this brutality, the Britons for a time swept everything before them and destroyed thousands of the



C.W. JEFFERYS

BRITONS AT THE TIME OF THE ROMAN CONQUEST

Chequered patterns in tunic; kilts; cloak; bronze shield; horned helmet; wattled and thatch-roofed huts

Romans. At length, however, Rome prevailed, but only after terrible slaughter. In 62 Boadica appears to have ended her own life by poison.

The Roman Wall.—Agricola, a famous Roman general, who commanded in Britain from 78 to 84, tried to rule justly. Some of the people had been the victims of gross fraud. The law required them to pay a part of their taxes in grain, and corrupt Roman officials bought up all the supply and forced the British to buy it back at a high price. Agricola checked this and many other abuses. He

wished to gain control of the two islands, but he could not subdue the fierce Picts of Caledonia, the present Scotland, or carry an army across the sea to Ireland. To keep back the Picts, Agricola built a line of forts from the Clyde to

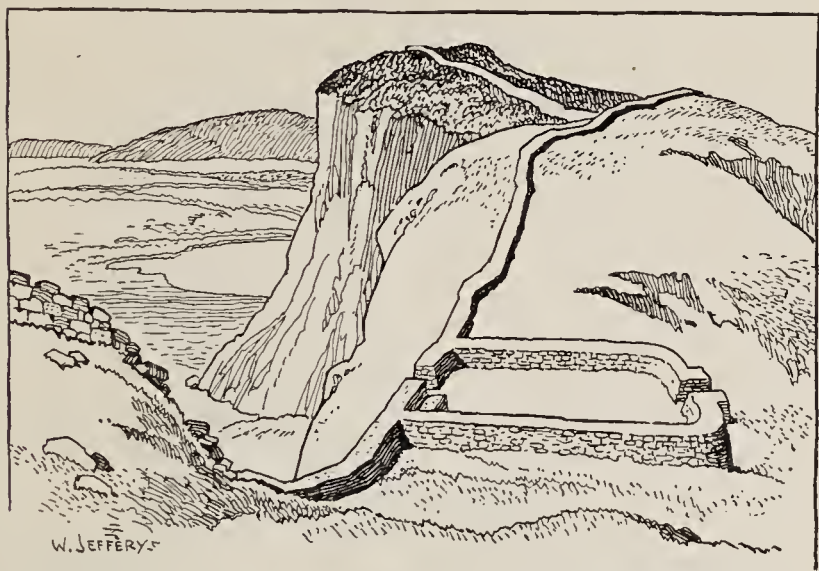


ROMAN SOLDIERS

A, shows a metal cuirass; B, a leather one sewn with iron plates. Note the helmet, the two types of shield, and the weapons—a short two-edged sword and a spear

the Forth, but the barbarians would not let Rome hold even so much, and in the end she had to be content with a boundary some fifty miles farther south. Here the emperor Hadrian, who visited Britain, thought it wise to fix the frontier, and, accordingly, he began, about 120, to build a

wall from the Solway to the Tyne (Carlisle to Newcastle). To this day much of this wall remains, impressive even in its ruins. York, in the north, was conveniently situated



PORTION OF HADRIAN'S WALL, LOOKING EASTWARD

The wall was about eight feet thick and eighteen feet high. The enclosure is one of the "Castles," about fifty by sixty feet, placed at intervals of about a mile

to check barbarian inroads, and became the military capital. London, in the south, near the mouth of the Thames and within easy reach of the continent, was the chief trading centre.

Roman Civilization in Britain.—Until 400 Rome continued to rule Britain. She maintained her control with twenty thousand or more troops. The enslaved inhabitants were forced to work in the mines and to till the soil for their conquerors. Yet the Romans did much to make the people of Britain civilized. They cleared forests and brought new land under cultivation. A great trade in wheat grew up between Britain and the Roman colonies on the Rhine. The Romans introduced the beech-tree, and for centuries to come the nuts of the beech forests fed great

herds of swine. Roman justice was stern, but it may well have been better than anything the Britons had known in earlier days. For the time tribal wars disappeared. In the towns which he built the conqueror taught to the Britons Roman manners and Roman luxury; in amphitheatres, traces of which still remain, the islanders saw the same cruel sports which amused Rome itself—gladiators fighting for life, wild beasts struggling with each other or destroying their human



victims. Palaces and villas of stone, scattered over the whole land, revealed the wealth of the master, while his British slaves lived in squalid hovels, often propped against the outer walls of their lord's dwelling. The shivering Romans met the chill of the northern winter with furnaces and hot-water pipes in their houses. They constructed luxurious baths, on a scale trifling indeed as compared with those of Rome, but magnificent for a remote province. The Romans built, probably by the labours of the enslaved Britons, great, straight roads which still endure—four converging at London, three at Chester, two at Bath—partly to aid trade, but mainly, we may believe, for moving troops easily and thus holding in check the conquered tribes.

Roman Influence on the Britons.—Probably few Romans of the first rank ever dwelt in Britain. Officials, traders, and soldiers went there and ruled by right of superior

education and organization. Yet the Romans did not master the Britons as they mastered the Gauls. While the natives of Gaul forgot their tongue to speak that of Rome, the Britons never gave up their own speech. It is true that a few chieftains adopted the language and the dress of the conqueror, came to love the lounge, the bath, and the elegant banquet, and even to boast of a Roman pedigree; but the mass of the Britons were little touched by Rome in speech and thought. They were under an iron heel. The tax-gatherer did his sordid work, and the taxes became ever



THE PROVINCES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

more oppressive, for as Rome's vigour declined her greed for gold increased. Occasionally an emperor, ambitious to survey even the outlying parts of his dominions, went to Britain and gave the island a passing importance by his presence. Every year the conscription carried off drafts of British recruits to fight for Rome in Gaul and Spain, on the Danube, and the far-off Euphrates. One softening influence there was: Christian missionaries preached their faith in Britain and persuaded many of the Roman masters

and their British dependants and slaves to become followers of Christ.

The Withdrawal of Rome.—The Piets from the north, the Scots from what is now Ireland, Saxons from across the North Sea, gave the Romans no rest from attack and sometimes advanced as far as London. Toward the end of the fourth century the rule of Rome had become very weak. More than one rebel general was proclaimed emperor in Britain by his soldiers and crossed to Gaul, resolved to march on Rome itself. By 400 the course of Imperial Rome was well-nigh run. The Goths, a half-savage Teutonic tribe, were hovering on the Italian frontier. At length, in the earlier years of the fifth century, the Gothic leader, Alaric, poured his hosts into Italy and pressed on to besiege Rome itself. To meet the peril, the Roman legions had already been recalled from Britain. At length, in 410, the civilized world was horror-stricken by the fall and sack of Rome, and the islanders were left to their fate.

2. THE ENGLISH CONQUEST

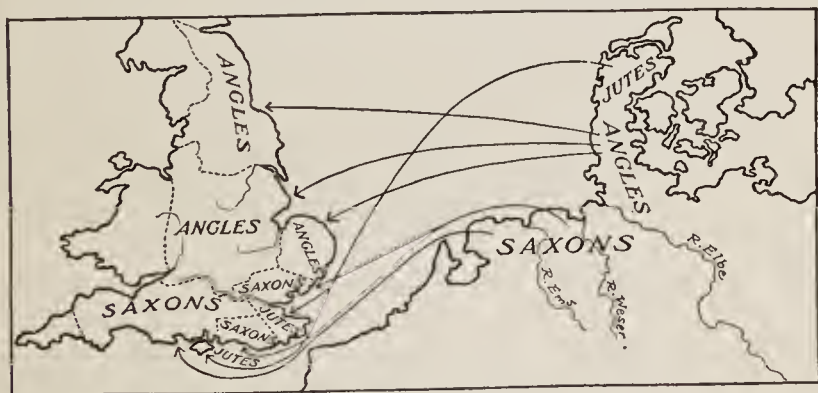
The Invasion by Picts and Scots.—The Romans had found the Britons a warlike people, but they had broken up the tribal system, and now the Britons had few leaders. Wild neighbours, who had never known the yoke of Rome, soon attacked a region more inviting than their own. We know little of this new invasion. The Piets from the north were the strongest assailants, while the Scots from Ireland* made a comparatively feeble attack, owing, no doubt, to the difficulty of sending a force across the Irish Sea. The Britons appealed to Rome for aid, since the country still remained in name a Roman province, but Rome could do nothing, and Vortigern, the only British chief of whom we hear, finally sought new allies.

The Coming of the Teutons.—The coasts of Britain had

*There was later an extensive migration of Scots from Ireland to the country which then became known as Scotland.

long been troubled by pirates who came across the North Sea. They were Germans, or Teutons, of the same stock as the Goths who had struck such a deadly blow to Rome's power in Italy. Now Vortigern asked their aid against his foes. They came, drove back the Picts, and then, resolving to hold the land for themselves, attacked Vortigern. The Jutes, under their leaders, Hengist and Horsa, began the conquest and settlement of Kent about 449. In no long time the whole tribe, with their women, children, and cattle, had crossed to Britain. To do this must have required great skill in rowing and sailing their clumsy boats; and their former home, that Jutland, the land of the Jutes, off which was fought in 1916 the greatest naval battle in history, remained almost deserted, it is said, for two or three centuries.

Britain Becomes England.—Jutes held Kent and the Isle of Wight. To the regions farther west, and also to the



THE MIGRATION OF TEUTONIC TRIBES TO ENGLAND

north of the Jutish settlement in Kent, went the Saxons, and still farther north settled other Germans, the Angles. It was these last who gave their name to the conquered country. For a long time their land in the north was the most advanced in culture, and their tongue, English, thus became the best known. It happened that, as the recognized speech of the invaders was called English,

they themselves were all known by that name, while the land, in time, was called England. What numbers came we do not know. Each band of invaders waged war for itself. Sometimes they fought with each other for the spoil. More often the struggle was between the Teutonic Englishman and the Celtic Briton whom he was driving back. King Arthur, if not wholly a legendary person, appears to have been a Celtic leader in the south-west, who struggled with the invader in the first half of the sixth century. There was savage fury on both sides. Religious hate was added to the fiery strife of race; for the Britons had long been Christians, while their assailants were still pagan. The conflict lasted for a century and a half. On the east coast the invaders found a means of access to the interior by way of the rivers, and this mode of advance was at length open to them on the west coast, when, in 577, they won, at Deorham near Bristol, a victory which made them masters of the Severn valley. Not long after this battle their sway was almost undisputed over the greater part of Britain. The mountainous regions of Wales, of Cornwall, and of Devon, became the refuge of the Britons, and there, to this day, dwell, mingled with the earlier Gaels, the descendants of the Celts whom the English conquerors drove from their homes.

The Customs of the English.—The victors are the ancestors of by far the greater part of the English of the present day. The historian Tacitus, writing in the first century of the Christian era, when these bold Teutons of the far north were becoming known in Italy, professed to find in them a moral vigour that Rome had lost. It may be that the censorious Roman saw too clearly the vices of his countrymen, because near at hand, while he saw those of the Teutons softened by distance. He describes their powerful frames, their fierce love of war, their respect for women, and the purity of their social life. They had no cities. Each family dwelt apart by a

grove or spring, with no near neighbour, and the wife shared the dangers of her husband. The men scorned the use of saddles and loved to bathe in the coldest rivers. They preserved rude liberties which Rome had lost under her despotic emperors. The freemen gathered from time to time in public meeting, to settle important affairs,



C.W. JEFFERYS

EARLY ENGLISH WARRIORS

Round shield of wood or leather with iron rim; leader with mailed shirt;
follower with tunic

and it was they who chose the leaders in war. There is, however, another side to the picture. Though the proud warrior might love his personal liberty and excel in fighting, he scorned the labour of the field and left it to women, old men, and slaves. He spent his leisure ignobly in drinking and gambling, and played games of chance

to such an extent that he sometimes made his own liberty the stake, and became a slave when he lost.

The Rule of the English.—The conquering Englishman, coming from a rough country of timber, of scrub, of barren heath and bog, found in Britain things new to him—fertile land, cleared, drained, and tilled in the Roman manner, orchards and vineyards, horses, cattle, sheep, and swine. There were walled towns and country houses, roads, bridges, lighthouses, harbours, mines, quarries, and fisheries. The English appear often to have killed ruthlessly the men of the Britons whom they conquered.



But a few of the invaders married the women of the opposing race, and in the veins of some of the next generation flowed the blood of both Celt and Teuton. The slave-trade flourished at the time. Without doubt some of the conquered Britons were sold; some, it may be, remained in bondage to the new English masters, to till their fields and work their mines. Except in the mountainous regions of the west, the English were everywhere supreme.

3. THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND

Pope Gregory's Mission to England.—From the third century, at least, there was a Christian church in Britain,

but by whom the faith was first taught we do not know. We hear, in a vague way, that Alban, a Christian, put to death for his faith about the year 300, was the first British martyr. When the English came, the land fell back once more into paganism, and only the Britons, driven into their mountains, remained Christian. Before the sixth century closed, however, missionaries came to convert the English. Gregory, a monk of noble birth, walking through the market-place of Rome, saw some fair-haired children offered for sale. Struck by their beauty, he asked whence they came, and was told that they were Angles from Deira, a division of Britain, whose king was Ella. "They shall become fellow-heirs with the *angels*, snatched from wrath (*de ira*) to sing *Alleluia*," was Gregory's punning comment. Already he had sacrificed wealth and a great position to become a monk, and now, full of missionary zeal, he decided to go to distant England. He set out. But when the Roman populace, who had found him a leader in those troubled days, learned that he had gone, they raised a tumult and insisted that he should be recalled. Recalled he was, and in 590 he became Pope.

The Conversion of Kent.—The thoughts of Gregory still turned to England, and, when he could, he sent there a strong mission of about forty members, with Augustine, the abbot of a monastery at Rome, as its leader. After a journey which occupied a year, the missionaries reached Kent in 597. Its ruler, Ethelbert, was an able man, who had made his small state the strongest among the petty kingdoms of England. His wife, Bertha, a member of the royal house in France, was a Christian. Since the Christian services held by Bertha's chaplain were familiar at the court, the path of the missionaries was already cleared. Ethelbert received Augustine and his band with polite caution and assigned them a lodging in his capital, Canterbury. Then, after a wise pause for reflection, he decided to accept Christianity. When he was baptized, the faith that had convinced the prince found easy acceptance among his

obedient people. Kent became Christian in name; we hear of the baptism on one Christmas Day of no fewer than ten thousand converts.

The English Accept Christianity.—Cheered by this first success, the missionaries pressed on to occupy more of the country and found a ready welcome among the English. It was natural that they should seek to join forces with the church of the conquered Britons. This, however, was not easy. The British church clung to a ritual in baptism and a mode of reckoning the date of Easter no longer used by Rome. When Augustine, fresh from that great centre of church life, urged the Britons to conform to Roman usage, they rejected the demand with scorn and broke off all intercourse with him. Meanwhile, the new-comers advanced to York, the ancient capital, and fixed upon it as the northern centre of their work. In some places paganism fought savagely for the old gods, Woden and Thor, but it had not strength to resist the vigour of the new faith. Within less than a hundred years after Augustine's landing, Christianity was accepted in all parts of England.

St. Patrick in Ireland.—Ireland meanwhile had become Christian long before the pagan English were reached by Augustine. In the history of missionary effort there is no nobler figure than St. Patrick. He was the son of a man of wealth, who lived in the south of Scotland. When staying at his father's country house on the west coast, Patrick was carried off in a raid of Picts and Scots, who sold him as a slave in Ireland. Here he spent six long years in the hard labour of tending cattle. Adversity taught him deep lessons; he found much comfort in prayer, and in the end became a Christian. He escaped to France and after engaging in study there returned to his own home. The pagan state of Ireland now troubled his mind, and at last he obeyed what seemed a divine call to go there to teach the Christian faith. His zeal was well-fitted to win the rude, emotional, and generous people of Ireland, among whom idolatry had already declined. He respected their customs, mingled

freely with all classes, and won success by his tact and zeal. When he died in 463, he had visited every part of Ireland and had won the whole of Ulster. The island was almost free from the kind of devastation by new-comers which wasted Britain, and soon developed a high type of missionary zeal. Thus it came about that, when the seventh century opened, the chief efforts to convert the neighbouring heathen peoples of Europe came from Ireland.

The Conversion of Scotland.—Off the west coast of Scotland lies the tiny island, Iona, only a mile or two in area, but important in British history, for on this spot a missionary from Ireland, Columba, built, about 563, a monastery, from which the teaching of the Christian faith spread to the pagan Highlands of Scotland. The Lowlands, we know in a dim way, had already been reached by an earlier teacher, Ninian. Missionaries from Iona went not only to the Highlands but also to the north of England. About 618, Oswald, a prince of Northumbria, one of the petty English kingdoms, fled to Iona from strife at home, and when he was restored and became king, he asked Iona to send missionaries to teach his people. The gentle Aidan was chosen, and he made Lindisfarne, or Holy Isle, a small islet off the east coast of England, a second Iona. Aidan and his band of followers travelled through Northumbria on foot, preaching in every village and winning many converts. Soon these missionaries from the north met the Romans making their way from the south, and then conflict and rivalry followed.

The Council of Whitby.—The Irish clung to the peculiar customs which they shared with the older British church, while the Roman party, led by Wilfrid, a young English monk of noble birth, insisted upon uniformity and demanded that the rude Irish should follow the example of cultivated Rome. A conference, under King Oswy of Northumbria, was finally held at Whitby, in 664, to debate and settle the differences. For the Scots, Colman, the leader, pressed hard the point that his observance of

Easter had by tradition the sanction of St. John. Wilfrid, on the other hand, urged that his customs were those used by the whole world outside of Britain and that they came from St. Peter, who held the keys of heaven. The king assumed the right to decide the question and promptly said that he should not oppose the door-keeper of heaven, lest the gates might not open to him when he should ask admission. On every point the Roman party triumphed. Rather than yield, most of the Irish retired, and this gave Rome a free hand in organizing the English church. In 668 the Pope sent to England, as Archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore of Tarsus, a great man with a genius for order and discipline. It was not long before he united in one church the English Christians. Many years were still to pass before there was a united English state.

The Work of the Venerable Bede.—The church grew rapidly in authority, wealth, and culture. Kings bestowed upon it lands and tithes; dying sinners left to it their property to secure its prayers; rich men founded monasteries and gave lands for their support. In that age of rude violence these monasteries were havens of security and peace. We see in the case of the Venerable Bede (673-735) how, even in rough and stormy times, a student might lead a quiet life. Bede is the first great English scholar. His ancestors were no doubt among the pirates who, not so long before, had descended upon England; but Bede himself was refined and fit to rank among the scholars of any age. He spent his long life in the monastery at Jarrow in the north, delighting in the quiet routine of the cloister. There were daily services in the church. Already art had gained a footing in Britain. The church windows were filled with stained glass and the walls adorned with pictures, the work of craftsmen from the continent, for the rude English were still too unskilled to do such tasks. Bede wrote many books. His *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, full of stories exquisitely told, is the great work from which we derive most of our knowledge of the

early English. Bede translated part of the Bible into the English of the Angles, his people; and it is through work such as his that the tongue we speak to-day is known as English rather than by the name of one of the other tribes, Saxons or Jutes. The six hundred monks at Jarrow opened schools, taught the people agriculture, and helped the poor and the sick, numerous in that age of pestilence. The English even spared help for other lands. Light went forth from them to the dark places of Europe. Boniface and other English missionaries taught in Germany, and Charlemagne, who in 800 became Roman emperor and the greatest ruler in Europe, chose an Englishman, Alcuin, to lead in his work of education.

4. ALFRED THE GREAT

England Divided into Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex.—The English had come to Britain in scattered groups, which gained a footing wherever they could drive back the Britons. For a time these groups remained separate and often fought one another. But in order to retain control of the country, the invaders were obliged to unite, and in time we find them grouped together in small kingdoms. When these kingdoms numbered seven, England was called a "Heptarchy." The changes were ceaseless; sometimes there were more than seven divisions, sometimes fewer. For more than a hundred years the region north of the Humber—Northumbria—played the leading part. A large state, Mercia, grew up in the very centre of England. In the south, the foremost state was Wessex, with Winchester as its capital. As long, however, as even three divisions remained, the English were weak. In the end, pressure from the invader united them under one leader.

The Beginning of the Danish Invasion, 787.—In 787 pagan pirates out of the north, such as the English themselves had once been, began to trouble England. They came from Scandinavia and Denmark. These Danes, or Vikings (that is creekmen, from *Vik*, a creek), had boats

so light in draught that they could take them far up the creeks and rivers into the interior. Upon landing their usual practice was to entrench themselves at some place difficult of access and to send out parties to pillage the country. When they could, they seized the available horses, and thus were able to advance rapidly and to retire quickly.



VIKING WARRIOR AND SHIP OF THE NORTHMEN

The round shields; shirt of mail with detail as at A; two-handed axe, the typical Danish weapon; helmet with raven wings; fur garment; early form of rudder, like a paddle

At first they were mere robbers and destroyers, who butchered men, women, and children, and burned towns and villages. But they had the shrewdness to see that England was a better country than their own, and at length they resolved to conquer and hold it. At first the north of England suffered most and seemed helpless to resist. Wessex, in the south, was remote and for a time freer from attack. It had a strong line of kings who were destined to drive back the Danes and to rule all England.

The Treaty of Wedmore, 878.—In Wessex Egbert ruled from 802 to 839. By this time it had become quite clear that all England was in danger of conquest by the Danes, and that to avert this the English must unite. Egbert was a statesman. Under his strong guidance Wessex took the lead in this struggle, and he forced Mercia and Northumbria to acknowledge him as overlord. Yet step by step the Danes mastered these states, and when Egbert's grandson, Alfred, came to the throne in 871, the Danish leader, Guthrum, was already overrunning Wessex. By 878 Alfred was a fugitive among his own fens and forests, and the Danes were pillaging his helpless people and ravaging their country at will. Alfred was, however, a skilful leader, and when well led the men of Wessex were good fighters. Alfred himself, disguised as a jester, made his way into the camp of the Danes and found that success had made them indolent and reckless. At Ethandune, in Wiltshire, he attacked and defeated them with great slaughter and was able to surround their camp. He had them at his mercy, and in the Treaty of Wedmore, 878, he dictated his own terms. They must leave Wessex alone and retire to the north of England. They must also adopt the Christian religion. No doubt by this time the old paganism sat lightly on the Dane. At any rate Guthrum was baptized with thousands of his followers. This meant that henceforth the Dane would be taught Christianity and not savage paganism. Guthrum withdrew from Wessex and left Alfred to rule south of Watling Street, a road leading roughly from Chester to London. North of this ruled the Dane, and, since he enforced there his own laws, this region was called the Danelaw.

The Work of Alfred the Great, 871-901.—Only bitter necessity had forced Alfred to yield half of England to the Danes. Wessex, however, gave him enough to do. Pillaged and terrorized by savage hordes for long periods, it had fallen back into barbarism. Churches had been burned and not rebuilt, schools had disappeared, and a generation

had grown up ignorant and brutal. It was Alfred's task to civilize his people, and no one ever attacked grave problems in a nobler spirit. Though he was racked by disease and had few to help him, he worked on without ceasing. He had shown himself a soldier; now he showed himself a great teacher and statesman. He framed new laws and saw that they were enforced; he founded schools; he saw that priests were trained to teach his people. Since both priests and people had almost lost the knowledge of Latin, he became the founder of English prose by translating Latin books into English for their use, among them Bede's history, that they might know something of their own past. He himself did not learn Latin until he was thirty-nine years old. His days were very busy, and all his work is pervaded by the spirit of a true Christian. His laws are mild, in contrast with the savagery of earlier codes. He was always patient and just. In the annals of mankind there is no nobler figure than this hard-worked king, whom later Englishmen proudly called the Great.

Alfred was not left to do his work in peace. Danes again attacked Wessex, but not the Danes who had found homes in the north. These, now Christian and owners of a goodly land, had very quickly become one with the English. It was fresh Danish hordes from the wild north-land who came to attack Alfred, hordes pagan and savage. Then Alfred saw that he must do more than fight on land, that he must meet the Danes on the sea. So he planned to build a fleet. The Danes came in great open boats, built of a pattern which they never thought of changing. Alfred now did what England has done so often since—he led in building boats of a new model. His ships were longer, higher, swifter, than those of the Danes, and he defeated them on sea. On land, too, he made himself strong. The old English army, known as the *fyrð*, consisted of the freemen, called to arms as need arose. Formerly the men had left their work to fight, and when the fighting ended, they had gone back to their farms. Alfred saw that he

must have an army always at hand. So he divided his fighting men into two parts, and while one half took its turn at drilling and fighting, the other half tilled the farms. Thus did he drive back the new hordes of Danes. At last they left him in peace, but he died in 901, when only fifty-two years old.

5. THE DANISH CONQUEST

The Division Between North and South.—Alfred was succeeded by a long line of kings, for the most part only less virtuous and able than himself (see *Genealogies*). The chief aim of their policy was to recover sway over the parts of England held by the Danes. Edward the Elder

(901-924) forced the Danes of the Danelaw to recognize him as overlord. Edred, his son, built a fort close to every Danish town, and slowly wore down and conquered those Danes who refused to accept his sway. Yet these kings built up no great state ruled from a single centre, as England is now ruled. Instead, they left princes half-independent to govern provinces like



THE DIVISION OF ENGLAND WITH THE DANES provinces like Northumbria, and were content with but slight authority over them. There was no united English people owing

loyalty to a common king and linked together by common interests. The north felt itself in many ways alien from the south and at heart, perhaps, disliked the rule of a king whose home was in the south.

The Work of Dunstan.—One influence in England worked for unity—that of the clergy. Since the days of Theodore, the whole church in England had been ruled from Canterbury. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury from 961 to 988, was a great leader. His chief aim was to revive religious life, which the Danish struggle had weakened. The monasteries, centres of influence in the time of Bede, had fallen low. The monks had been scattered, and many of their schools, the only hope of the rising generation, were closed. When still a young man, Dunstan showed what a monastery could do. He became Abbot of Glastonbury and soon filled that house with busy life. He himself taught in its school, which became famous for its good work. When he was made archbishop, he required the clergy to learn handicrafts that they might teach them to their people. They were ordered, also, to preach constantly, and to rebuke the heavy drinking and other vices of the time. Under Edgar (957-975) Dunstan had a post not unlike that of the prime minister of our own times; next to the king, he was the greatest man in the state.

Union of Britain Under Edgar, 973.—Edgar, though only thirty-two when he died, was a remarkable ruler. At Bath, in 973, he was solemnly crowned king, not merely of Wessex but of all the English. Like Alfred he kept up a strong fleet, and every year he made a tour of his coasts to check piracy and keep the sea safe for his subjects. He extended his sway over the whole island. There is a story, probably true, that at a great procession on the water at Chester, Edgar's boat was rowed by eight lesser rulers, while he himself steered. Without doubt he guided the whole English state as fully as he steered this boat. His system shows that England had already become a kind of federal kingdom, strong when led by a strong man, but still lacking

in true unity. The subject princes in Edgar's train were quite ready to fight against him when it seemed to serve their own interests.

The Danish Conquest.—Edgar was the last able English king of Alfred's line. His son Ethelred (978-1016) is known in English history as Ethelred the Unready, or Redeless—the king without *rede*, the old word for wisdom. His weak and vicious rule invited attack. Even a strong man could scarcely have triumphed over the evils which now threatened England, for out of Norway and Denmark ever came fresh hosts of assailants, still pagan and savage. After long strife the attacks grew so fierce, and Ethelred so helpless, that at last, in 991, he bribed the Danes to spare him, and, in order to get money, levied a special tax called the Danegeld, perhaps the first national tax that an English king ever levied on his people. The Danes took the money, but were soon ravaging the land as before. Then Ethelred used treachery. On St. Brice's Day (November 13th), 1002, the English rose against the Danes and slaughtered all on whom they could lay hands. The Danish revenge was fearful; Sweyn, their leader, and Canute, his son, began the systematic conquest of England and did not stay their hand until, in 1013, they forced the English to accept the pagan pirate, Sweyn, as king. But Sweyn's rule was short, for he died in 1014. Ethelred's hopes revived, but he, too, died in 1016, and then Sweyn's son, Canute, struggled with Ethelred's son, Edmund Ironside. The mettle of the English improved under an able leader. Edmund at length ruled half the land, but he died in 1016. Then all England united in naming Canute king, and for twenty-five years Danish sovereigns ruled the English. The conquest against which Alfred had fought with such skill had been at last achieved.

The Reigns of the Danish Kings.—During these twenty-five years England was, in truth, not ill-governed. Probably few Danes emigrated to England, except to centres such as London. Little as the mild and gentle spirit of Christianity

had transformed the social life of England, she was yet a Christian state. The pagan Canute soon became a Christian, and his just rule showed his sincerity. At first he was regarded as a savage heathen. In his early days he had ruthlessly cut off the hands, ears, and noses of hostages left in his power. But Canute changed his mode of life. He made generous gifts to the church and showed regret for his lawless deeds. In 1027 he went to Rome, partly to arrange with the Pope some matters of business affecting the church, but also to humble himself there and to receive absolution for the sins of his past. From Rome he wrote a noble letter to his subjects. "I have vowed to God," he said, "to rule my realms and peoples in justice and righteousness and to give true judgment to all. If, hitherto, I have done anything unjust, through self-will or youthful



THE EMPIRE OF CANUTE

folly, I am prepared, with God's help, to undo the wrong completely." Under Canute peace and order prevailed, commerce expanded, some of the towns grew rapidly. He married Emma, the widow of Ethelred, and he made England the most important state in a Scandinavian empire of the north, which included

England, Norway, and Denmark and rivalled in power its contemporary, the Holy Roman Empire. The new king set up in England the four great earldoms of Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, and Wessex—divisions formed on the lines of the earlier separate kingdoms. When he died in 1035, England mourned for a ruler who might almost be named with Alfred. His long reign was followed by the short and unworthy ones of his two sons, Harold and Hardicanute. When Hardicanute died in 1042, the minds of the English turned to his half-brother, Edward, son of

Emma and of Alfred's descendant, Ethelred the Unready. Thus did the old English line come back. The Danish conquest had run its course; and few yet dreamed that the sway of another conqueror, the Norman, was not far off.

6. OLD ENGLISH CIVILIZATION

The English Village Community.—When the English conquerors had mastered Britain, they settled down in small village communities like those of their home-land in Germany. Each community rarely contained more than a score of freemen, and sometimes only the members of a single family. Wellington was the "ton," or mound of earth-work for defence, of the family of Wellings; the Ashings and the Wokings dwelt in "hams," or villages, called by their names (Ashingham, Wokingham). The freeman had his own cottage with its little plot of ground, which was held as private property, while the farming land of the village was held in common. It was marked off into strips, in great open fields. These strips were divided among the villagers, and, perhaps to make sure that each man should have his fair average of good and of inferior land, the strips were reallocated at regular intervals. Liberty to cut fuel in the forest beyond the tilled land, and to pasture animals on the meadow land, also belonged to the villagers, and the rights of each man were carefully limited and defined.

The First Written Laws of the English.—At their arrival the barbarous English had no written laws. They were only slightly influenced by what Rome had done in Britain; and we may doubt whether a single Roman law-book was to be found among them for five hundred years after their coming. They held to their own old tribal practices with great tenacity, and showed already the reverence for custom which has played such a part in English political life. Ethelbert of Kent was the first to cause the simple laws of his people to be committed to writing. They are contained in a few short sentences and are mainly directed against deeds of violence—for striking

another on the nose with the fist, the fine is three shillings; for putting out an eye, it is fifty shillings; and so on. After Ethelbert, the chief legislators of early England are Ine, king of Wessex at the end of the seventh century, and his great descendant Alfred, at the end of the ninth. Both added to the written body of laws, and those of England of the present day are the direct outcome of the work of these early kings.

The Wergeld.—English law, like other northern legal systems, had the custom of the *wergeld*. In a rude society, before law and order are well established, a crime such as murder is likely to be avenged by the family of the murdered man. This was the rule among the English in very early times. The custom led, of course, to bitter family quarrels, to needless bloodshed, and to an enduring vendetta. In order to check this, a money value was, in time, put upon the life of the members of each class in the state, and any one slaying another unlawfully was required to pay to the dead man's family this *wergeld*. If the offender failed to pay, the relatives were then allowed to wreak their own vengeance; they reverted, in fact, to the old barbaric method of private punishment.

The Village Moot.—From the first we find in England differences of class. The earl, or man of noble birth, was distinct from the churl, or man without rank. Yet government among the English was at first democratic. Village affairs were discussed in a "moot," or meeting, of the freemen, who chose a head known as the reeve. Perhaps the chief business of the village fathers was to see that crime was punished, for the age was rough. But they did other things. They arranged the periodical reallotment of the land and the collection of taxes. The affairs of the village were simple enough. There was no question of schools or of sanitation, such as we have now. Whatever schools there were the church provided, and sanitation was wholly neglected. None the less should we look with reverence on these English villagers assembled in public meeting, for out of

their freedom has grown the wider liberty of later centuries.

The Hundred Moot and the Punishment of Crime.—The villages remained always so small that union was needed, if only to hunt down crime. Eight or ten villages joined to form what was named the “hundred,” so-called, it may be, because it sent a hundred warriors to the national host. There was a hundred “moot,” or meeting, several times in the year, and to it came the reeve and other freemen from the villages. When they dealt with questions of crime, their justice was rude enough. If the accused man denied his guilt, he had to swear that he was innocent and find twelve other men to swear that they believed him. By this method of “compurgation” he was acquitted. But should he fail to secure “compurgators,” he must go through the ordeal—plunge his arm into boiling water, or walk blindfold over red-hot plough-shares. It was believed that no harm would come to him if he was innocent; so they wrapped up carefully the arm or the feet that had been exposed, and if he was found to be uninjured when, after some days, the bandages were removed, God, it was thought, had shown that he had been accused unjustly. We do not know how the system worked; to modern critics it certainly seems inadequate.

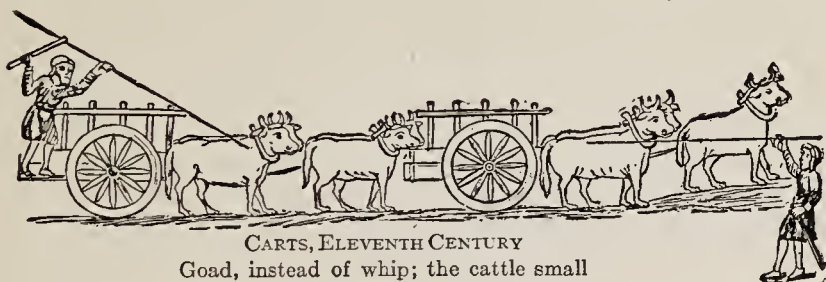
The Shire-moot and the Folk-moot.—There were larger unions than the hundred; the shire, made up usually of a number of hundreds, with a “moot” presided over by a shire reeve, or sheriff; and a still wider union, that of the whole tribe, or “folk,” with the king at its head. While dwellers in Germany, the English appear to have had no kings. In England, however, the prolonged war with the Britons made it necessary to name not merely a “war-lord,” chosen whenever war broke out, but a permanent leader. He was known as king, perhaps because he became the chief of his kin, or tribe. When a vacancy occurred, the fittest member of the royal house was chosen king. It was the duty of the king to summon his people to meet him when there were great questions to settle. Then the reeve and other

freemen from the villages made their way, fully armed, to the assembly, called the "folk-moot," or meeting of the whole people. Here they debated chiefly problems of war and peace. When the warriors wished to show approval, it was done by the martial clashing of their weapons upon their shields. These first English Parliaments were, above all, councils of war, in which armed men decided the questions.

The Witenagemot.—The king's power tended to increase, that of the people to decline. As the political divisions grew in size, the villagers found themselves too poverty-stricken to send their chief men on the long journey to the folk-moot, and gradually the central government passed into the hands of the king and his friends. In time, all ceased to attend the national meeting, except such leaders in the counties as the bishop, the alderman, or headman, of the shire, the abbots of the chief monasteries, and other great men. These formed the Witenagemot—the meeting of wise men. It was the Witan, or wise men, who elected the king and who could depose him if he proved unworthy. They had the right to be consulted when he wished to levy taxes, to raise an army, or to take any other important action. Under a strong king they might do little; it was when the king proved weak that their power was real. More and more the royal court became the centre of social and political life. Surrounding the king were his thanes (a word meaning servants)—a chosen war-band, devoted to his personal service, and ready, if need be, to give their lives for him. If the king died in battle, it was disgraceful for thethane to survive. These friends and counsellors became the nobles about the throne.

The Lord of the Manor.—It happened, in course of time, that the free communities of villagers died out. In some way, we scarcely know how, the village came under the control of a lord. It is likely that, when the Danes began to ravage England, the villagers, helpless to resist such savage attacks, asked the nearest earl to protect them. He

did so, but on condition that they should serve him. Thus the village and its surrounding land became a manor under a lord of the manor, who, for the aid which he gave, had the right to demand a fixed, sometimes a heavy, portion of the labour of the villagers to till his land. They are called,

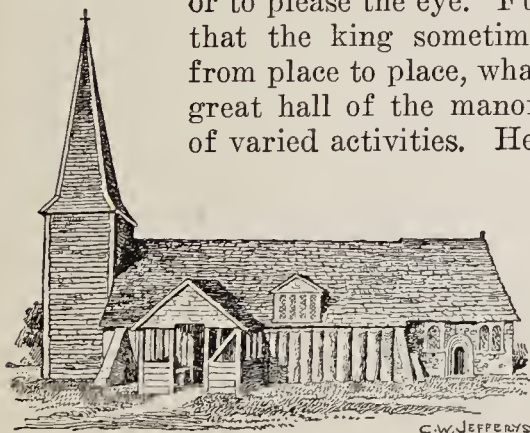


CARTS, ELEVENTH CENTURY

Goad, instead of whip; the cattle small

in time, "villeins," men who must live in the village or "vill." The old village organization long remained. The village moot was held as before, but at its head now was not an elected reeve, but the lord of the manor, or his steward, who dispensed, perhaps, wiser justice than did the village fathers of old.

Dwellings.—The dwellings even of the rich were rudely planned and provided but meagre comfort, as we understand the term. There was little to give ease to the body or to please the eye. Furniture was so scanty that the king sometimes carried with him, from place to place, what he might need. The great hall of the manor-house was the scene of varied activities. Here was held the court



C.W. JEFFERYS

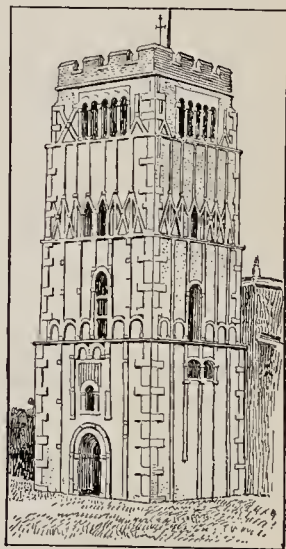
PRE-NORMAN WOODEN CHURCH AT GREENSTEAD
Made of half logs standing length-wise

of the manor, sometimes a crowded assembly. At other times the hall was used for dining a great company. The tables were formed of boards placed on movable trestles, and wood-

en benches served as seats, as still they do in college dining-halls. The doorways and walls were sometimes hung with tapestry, which served the useful purpose of protection from draughts, while the narrow windows were either unprotected openings, or were filled with oiled linen, rarely in the earlier times with glass, to keep out the cold and to let in the light. In cold weather a fire blazed on a hearth-stone in the middle of the hall, and the smoke escaped through a hole in the roof over the hearth-stone, or through the open windows. There were some stone churches copying the Roman style of architecture, but many of the churches were still of wood.

Food.—In this early England there was a rude plenty. Great numbers of swine fed upon acorns and other nuts in the forests; there were herds of many cattle and large flocks of sheep. Meat was so abundant that the church threatened with penalties masters who gave their servants meat on fast days, such as Friday. Fish was readily secured on the coasts, but owing to bad roads it could not be carried easily to the interior. The diet of the peasants must have consisted chiefly of rudely cooked pork or other meat and of black bread made from barley and oats. Cabbage was the chief vegetable. Mead (fermented honey) and also malt ale were common. Wheaten bread, wine, and other luxuries must have been confined chiefly to the well-to-do. Tea, coffee, tobacco, and potatoes, which in modern times have become almost necessities of life, had not yet reached Europe.

Dress.—Of the dress of the period our knowledge is



PRE-NORMAN STONE TOWER
AT EARLS BARTON, WITH
THE ROUND ROMAN ARCH

scanty. The women wove beautiful linen and from it made long tunics worn like a petticoat, over which was the gown, often richly embroidered, falling to the knee. Both men and women favoured bright colours. Long hair was fashionable, even for men; cropped hair was sometimes regarded as the mark of the slave. The ordinary head-dress of a woman was a long cloth (the wimple) wound round the neck and over the head, in the fashion of the dress of a nun in modern times; over this the wearer drew a hood when going out. The dress of the men was simple, yet in some respects more elaborate than it is now, for it included gold and silver bracelets, chains, and brooches. The tunics,



THRESHING, WINNOWING, AND CARRYING GRAIN

often rich in texture and colour, were caught in at the waist by a belt, in which was carried a knife with a sheath, sometimes jewelled.

The Arts.—Some of the finer arts flourished in early England. The art of embroidery in gold was highly developed. In the monasteries a monk would spend perhaps years in making a beautifully illuminated copy of the Scriptures or of a book of prayers. In addition to household duties, ladies busied themselves with tapestry and embroidery. They had little to read except books of devotion. Women of the lower classes worked in the fields, and their poor hovels must have had but scanty attention. For amusements, chess, backgammon, and similar games were not unknown, but playing-cards were a later invention. There was much singing of a rude kind, often by wandering

gleemen and musicians. Hunting and horse-racing were favourite sports, and gambling, excessive drinking, and fighting were common in a society which had few of the refinements of modern life.

Education.—Education was wholly in the hands of the clergy and consisted of the simplest elements, with much attention to music for the church services. Few of the village children went to school; among at least the lower classes, only those intended for the clerical profession learned to read. We hear, indeed, even of kings who could not read. Yet England was not without its literature. At the feasts even the humblest sometimes took their turn to sing, to chant verses, or to play the harp, and there was keen rivalry in these diversions. In Northumbria the deeds of Beowulf, a hero of the English when they still dwelt in northern Europe, were sung as early as in the sixth century, and this tale was current from one end of England to the other. By the tenth century it had become the great English epic poem, still preserved under the name of Beowulf. Cædmon, a simple cowherd in the days when Theodore was organizing the forces of the English church (about 675), would steal away in shame from the feast to the cattle-shed, because his own verses and song were so rude that he shrank from taking his part with others. Once, the story goes, he was bidden in a dream to sing of holy things, and henceforth, unlike others, he put not his own thoughts but the story of the creation into verse. The age thought his composition so beautiful that he acquired the fame of a great poet.

The Weakness of England.—In a dim way these are some of the features of English life. There was little real union among those nominally the subjects of the same king. Northumbria, remote from Wessex, preserved an independence almost complete. Patriotism was local and not national, and Englishmen had not learned to stand together against the common foe. Internal division aided the Danish assailant, and to him, as booty, fell the state for

which Alfred had toiled. Danish rule ran its course; and then in 1042 came back, in the person of Edward the Confessor, the old English line. But the land conquered in turn by Roman, Englishman, and Dane was not yet to be free; a new conqueror was soon preparing to master England.

CHAPTER III

THE NORMAN CONQUEST

1. THE HOUSE OF GODWIN

The Character of Edward the Confessor.—Edward, called the Confessor, for his devout confession of faith, made religion the supreme interest of his life. So intense grew his devotion that the duties of kingship became hateful to him; he would have preferred to be a monk. He is the only English king whom the church has formally made a saint. Edward was elderly, fragile in health, with white hair, and thin, delicate hands. Though subject at times to fits of passion, he had a gentle spirit. He proved a weak king, who was always ready to lean on any strong arm offered to him. Men said, in contempt, that if one of his chosen friends should tell him that a black crow was white, he would believe it, in defiance of his own eyesight. It was England's crowning misfortune in a troubled age to have so feeble a ruler.

The Normans, a Teutonic Race, in France.—From the first day of Edward's reign the Normans acquired great influence. A century and a half before Edward, these adventurers from the north, akin to those who then made Alfred's life so stormy, had seized that part of France which lay about the mouth of the Seine. The weak French king could not drive them back, and just as Alfred was forced to share England with the Danes, so was Charles the Simple, king of France, forced to make terms with the Normans. In 911 Rolf, or Rollo, their leader, was left in possession of the region across the English Channel which we know as Normandy, on condition that he should acknowledge the king of France as his lord and be baptized into the Christian faith. The terms were similar to those which Alfred had made with the Danes, and the Normans, like

the Danes, settled down in a goodly land. Apparently many of the warriors married French women. The children learned the tongue of their mother, and soon the Normans knew only the French language. They mastered rapidly the best culture of the time, and, since this culture found its chief expression in architecture, they became great builders, and honoured their new faith with noble structures, unequalled before in number, extent, and massiveness.

Norman Influence in England.—Edward was related, through his mother Emma, to the Norman ducal house. When in exile, as a child, while Danish kings ruled England, he had been reared at the Norman court, and the Norman tongue, Norman manners, and Norman fashions were those with which he was familiar. To him England seemed a rude and barbarous country. Naturally, when once on the throne, he encouraged Norman influences. The Normans who came to England with him jeered at the English as uncouth. At the court French was spoken, and English nobles who would be in the fashion had to make efforts, no doubt clumsy enough, to master its unfamiliar sounds. Norman prelates were appointed to English sees; Norman abbots ruled in English monasteries; Norman land-owners held English lands; until already, in Edward's reign, it seemed as if England had been conquered by her neighbours. Following the fashion which the Normans had set, Edward was eager to rear a great church. It is said that he had planned a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Peter at Rome, and that, as his people did not wish him to leave England, he had to be content with building at home a stately fabric in honour of that apostle. He set aside for the purpose one-tenth of the royal revenues, and during more than half his reign his supreme object of interest was the building of the "Collegiate Church of St. Peter," better known as Westminster Abbey. It was a vast structure in the Norman style, far surpassing other English churches, many of which were only of wood. This first Westminster Abbey, of which few traces remain at the present day, was, in fact, the

earliest monument of the dominance of the Norman in England.

Earl Godwin Opposes Norman Influence in England.—The vigorous, if backward, social life which England had developed was not without its champions against Norman influence. Among the chief advisers of Canute had been a man of Danish origin, Godwin, earl of Wessex. He was related through his wife to the Danish royal house and was so rich and powerful as to count himself the equal of kings. This able, strong man disliked the growing Norman influence. He was father-in-law of the king, for Edward had married his daughter, Edith. In spite of this the king's relations with the family were not happy. Edward's brother, Alfred, had been murdered in 1036. Stories were told, and open accusation was even made, that Godwin had been concerned in the murder. He was acquitted, but could never remove suspicion from Edward's mind. Godwin managed to place the members of his numerous family in high positions. So great was his influence that at one time he and his sons governed almost the whole country.

The family of Godwin watched with jealous distrust the spread of Norman influence. In 1051 came open strife. Eustace of Boulogne, the king's brother-in-law and a foreigner, had paid a visit to Edward. On his way back to France he made a halt at Dover. There he needed quarters for his large following, and he seems to have thought that, as a relative of the king, he could do what he liked. So he marked certain houses and told the owners that they must receive his men. This high-handed conduct angered the men of Dover, and a riot followed, in which many were slain on both sides. Eustace appealed to his kinsman Edward, who ordered Godwin to chastise the Dover townsmen. The earl demanded that there should be first a fair trial. Edward, angry at this check upon his will, called out his forces, and Godwin also took up arms. For the moment Godwin's cause failed; he was outlawed and fled with his sons from England. Edward was, however, soon obliged to

make terms with the powerful earl, and from that day foreign influence was checked, and Godwin's family was supreme.

Harold, Son of Godwin, King, 1066.—When Godwin died in 1053, his second and ablest son, Harold, succeeded him as earl of Wessex and secured supreme power in England. His deeds show that he was a strong man and a skilful soldier. In 1065 Edward's abbey was nearing completion, and during the Christmas season of that year it was consecrated with elaborate ceremony. But the feeble king, who had made its building the chief purpose of his life, was now near his end and could take no part in the joyous festivities. His death followed in January, 1066, and brought a political crisis in England. Edward left no direct heir. Harold had long been the real ruler and had planned in due course to make himself king, and he acted now with what was even unseemly haste. Edward was buried hurriedly in the great minster on the day after his death, and on that day, in the same place, Harold was anointed and crowned king of England. Probably all necessary legal rules were complied with. No doubt Harold was formerly chosen by the Witenagemot, which had the right to name the king. No doubt the applause of the populace confirmed the choice. Yet the extreme haste was in itself suspicious, and it was soon clear that Harold must hold by the sword the glittering prize which he had won.

2. WILLIAM, DUKE OF NORMANDY, AND THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS

William, Duke of Normandy.—Harold had a rival in William, Duke of Normandy. This son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, and a tanner's daughter of Falaise, had succeeded, when only eight years old, to the stormy sovereignty which his ancestor Rolf had won from the king of France. He had had a terrible childhood. His chief vassals thought that such a stripling could be defied, and

the boy grew up amid strife and treachery. He saw some of his friends basely murdered; his own life was menaced by assassins; territory that belonged of right to his dukedom was wrested from him. To meet such dangers he became, above all, a warrior. In strength he was a giant; in temper he was often passionate and cruel. When the defenders of the bridge of Alençon sneered at his tanner ancestry, he swore "by the splendour of God" that he would prune them as a tree is pruned. He took the bridge, and a shower of human hands and feet over the castle wall revealed the terrible resolution that lay behind his threat. He loved power and he had the vice of avarice. But, though ruthless, he had good impulses. He was pure in life. He was devout and fond of the Scriptures. He had a statesman's insight and he never turned from a purpose once formed.

The Character of Harold.—When Harold became king his path proved indeed thorny. Two brothers, Edwin and Morkere, scions of an ancient English house, were in charge of the northern half of the kingdom—Mercia and Northumbria—and they held aloof from the scheming usurper. Harold had married their sister, Edith, but even with this tie he won only a sullen recognition. The clergy, too, turned against him. He was devout and had given lands to the church. He had made a pilgrimage to Rome in the later years of Edward and with pious zeal had brought back relics and treasures for a church founded by him at Waltham. None the less had he aroused the Church's anger. He had helped to drive Norman bishops from England, and he was no friend of the monks, one of whom, Hildebrand, was then all-powerful at Rome. Harold was less pure in life than William. On the other hand, even in a time of fierce passions, he was never guilty of the barbarity which stained so many of William's successes.

William Claims the English Crown.—While hunting near Rouen, William heard of the death of Edward and of Harold's accession. He turned homewards at once and sat

long in his great hall, his head covered with his mantle, and uttering no word. When at last he spoke, it was to say that he sorrowed not only for Edward's death, but for the falsity of the usurper Harold. This reveals William's policy; he now claimed that he was the rightful heir to the English throne. Some time before this, when William was on a visit to England, the childless Edward had promised to bequeath the throne to his Norman cousin.* A little later, it is said, Harold was wrecked upon the Norman coast and became practically William's prisoner. His captor put pressure upon him, and at last, so it was believed, forced from him a solemn oath to support the Norman claim to England. Yet the difficulties were many. If Edward promised the crown to William, it is certain that he had no right to do so, for only the English Witenagemot might name a king. It is equally certain that Edward, on his death-bed, revoked this promise, for then he named Harold as his successor. If Harold took the alleged oath to William, he did it under compulsion, while he was William's prisoner. In any case, his oath could not bind the English Witan in choosing a king. Yet Edward's promise and Harold's oath seemed of vast import and William used them skilfully. He appealed to Rome against the perjured Harold. The appeal was heard favourably and the Pope urged William to go forth against the usurper. William carried on the work of preparation with great energy. He counted for help, not only on his Norman vassals, but also on Christian Europe, which he invited to join in a cause

*NORMAN LINEAGE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

ROLF, Conqueror of Normandy, *d.* 927 (?)

WILLIAM LONGSWORD, *d.* 943

RICHARD I, the Fearless, *d.* 996

RICHARD II, the Good, *d.* 1026

EMMA, *d.* 1052 = ETHELRED the Unready

ROBERT, *d.* 1035

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, *d.* 1066

WILLIAM I, king of England, *d.* 1087

declared by the Pope to be righteous. From far and near, men, eager for adventure, flocked to his standard. By August, 1066, hundreds of open boats were collected at Dive, on the Norman coast, to carry to England a large invading force.

The Invasion of Harold Hardrada.—Harold was in very great danger. The loyalty of the northern half of his kingdom was doubtful, and disunion, which, in an earlier age, had made Britain a prey to the Roman, now threatened to clear the path of the Norman. The dangers multiplied. Harold's brother, Tostig, had been earl of Northumbria. His misrule had caused revolt, and Harold had dismissed and banished him. Tostig, panting for revenge, had found in Norway a powerful ally. Harold Hardrada, who then ruled Norway, was the last of the great vikings. In the true viking spirit he was always ready for new adventures, and now, stirred by Tostig's appeal, he made ready to act. While William's boats were lying at Dive, Harold Hardrada's force gathered near Bergen. The wind that held William prisoner released the northern fleet, and, early in September, the North Sea was dotted with the boats of still another expedition of hardy Norsemen against the shores of England. The invading fleet sailed up the Humber, and Harold Hardrada marched on York, the northern capital.

Harold of England had spent a laborious summer in the Isle of Wight, organizing the coast defences against William. Harold needed both an army and a fleet and really had neither. His own body-guard, known as the House Carls, was the fine nucleus of a regular army, but it was small. He had called out the militia known as the *fyrð*, and during the summer they watched the coast carefully. But William did not come, and the English force continued inactive. At the same time food was scarce, and the men were needed at home to gather the ripening harvest. It seems as if Harold, brave in actual conflict, lacked foresight. He did not follow William's movements closely, and the

unseen danger was apparently half forgotten. On September 8th, he sent the peasants to their homes to gather the harvest, and the south and east coasts of England were left unguarded.

The Battle of Stamford Bridge, 1066.—The defence of the north had been left entirely to Harold's half-hearted supporters, Edwin and Morkere, and they met with disaster. On September 20th, they tried to check Harold Hardrada marching upon York, and were defeated with great slaughter. Four days later York was on the point of opening its gates to the Norsemen. Harold of England lay ill, apparently at London, when news arrived of the coming of the Norwegian king. Dangers threatened on every side, but the most imminent was from the north, and Harold started on the long march of three hundred miles to York. The rapid advance of this harassed king was a brilliant exploit. Harold Hardrada was at Stamford Bridge, waiting for the surrender of York, when, on Monday, September 25th, the king of England, whose coming had been unexpected until he was quite near, attacked him. A desperate fight followed. Harold Hardrada, Tostig, and the flower of the Norwegian force fell, and the English won at Stamford Bridge the last of the long series of battles with the invaders from the north.

The Battle of Hastings, or Senlac, 1066.—Yet disaster brooded over England. The favourable wind, waited and prayed for by the Normans during more than a month, came at last, and three days after the battle of Stamford Bridge, William landed with a great force at Pevensey, on the south coast. Harold, hurrying to the south, paused at London to gather more men and to plan a new campaign. Some advised him to shut himself up in London and to starve out the Normans by ravaging the whole south country, but he refused thus to harass his own people. William encamped at Hastings and allowed his army to carry on lawless pillage. Harold marched out of London to meet him and took up a strong position on rising ground,

known later as the Hill of Senlac, seven miles from Hastings, where now stands the town of Battle. To attack, the Normans must mount the hill. Harold placed himself in the centre, surrounded by his own trained body-guard, the House Carls. The men on his two wings were raw levies, but they stood on the edge of the hill, a favourable position, which Harold ordered them on no account to leave.

The battle of Hastings, so momentous in English history, gave little occasion for the complex tactics of later warfare.



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR ON THE WAY TO ENGLAND

Note the horses on board. This and the detail of other pictures are from the Bayeux Tapestry, a strip of linen cloth 20 inches wide and 231 feet long, still preserved at Bayeux in France, and having upon it successive pictures of the Norman Conquest in needlework, done, it is said, by order of the Conqueror's half-brother, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux

How many fought on each side we do not know; perhaps not more than from five to ten thousand. Harold was strongly placed and William's chief effort was to charge up the hill and break the English line. Undoubtedly the Normans were the better armed and disciplined. Many of them wore chain armour; they had brought with them horses from Normandy, and they charged on horseback. Few of the English had armour, and they fought on foot. The Normans had skilled archers and soldiers armed with spear and sword. The English, soon to lead the world in the use of the bow, seem to have had few archers and fought chiefly with the clumsy battle-axe.

The battle began at nine in the morning of October 14th, 1066. When William learned where Harold's standard

had been placed, he vowed, if successful, to build on the spot a great abbey. For many long hours the Normans attacked in vain. At length the English drove back the Norman left wing and swept down the hill in pursuit.

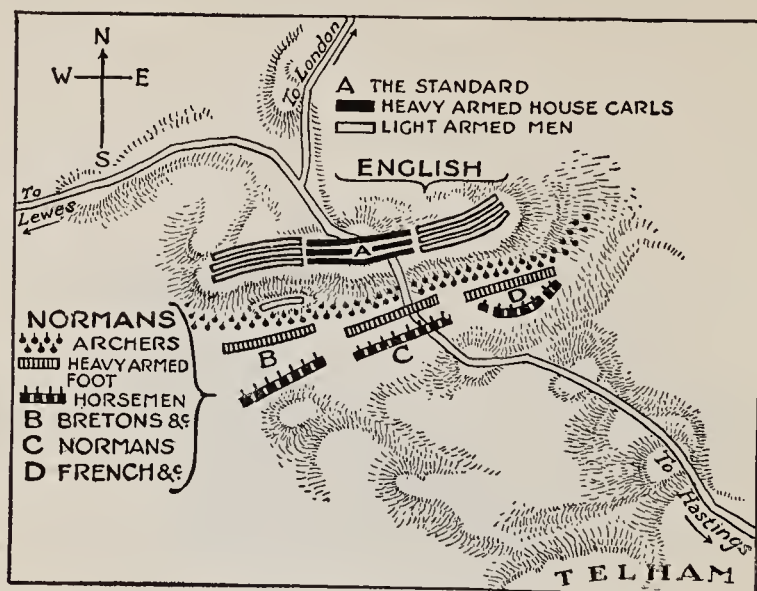


NORMAN HORSEMEN

Hauberk (coat-of-mail) of leather or linen on which are sewn flat iron rings; kite-shaped shield; helmet with nose-guard, typically Norman

Though the left wing recovered itself, the incident led William to plan a ruse. Soon he ordered the left wing again to fly, and when the English right again pursued and rushed down the hill, the Norman centre hurried to the vacant place on the hill. Thus was the English line broken. The assailants were now on the height, and as night fell, they closed in upon Harold. No quarter was asked or given, and the English king, two of his brothers, and almost the whole of the English nobility fell fighting

round the royal standard. That night William sat down on the battle-field to eat and drink amid the wounded, the



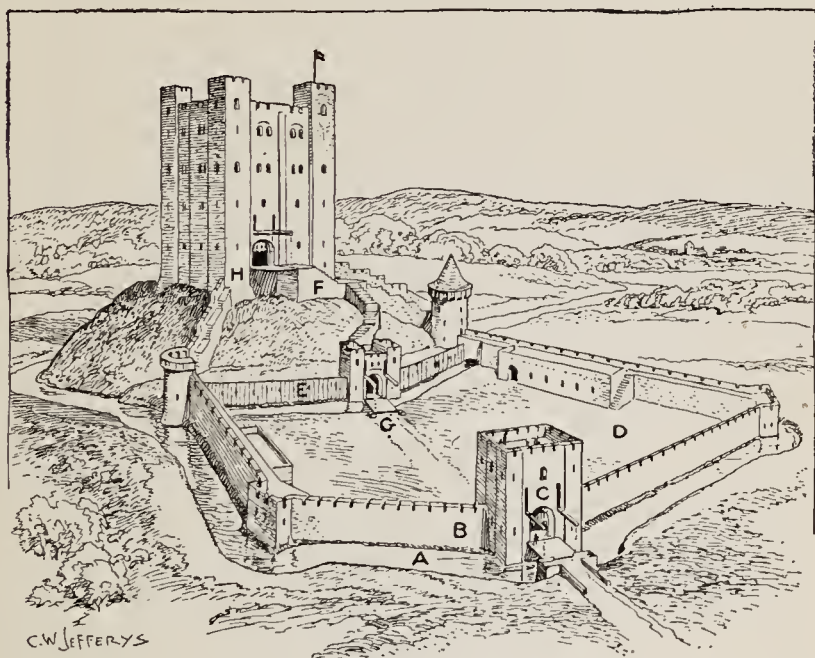
THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS

dying, and the dead. He slept where Harold fell and where afterwards rose the high altar of Battle Abbey.

William Crowned King.—After the death of Harold the English were without a leader. Probably this is why they did so little by way of defence, and why town after town surrendered. William pitched his camp near London and waited. The English Witan, meanwhile, chose Edgar Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside, to succeed Harold. He was, however, a mere boy and was apparently never crowned. The losers at Hastings began to remember that England had already prospered under a foreign king, Canute; and two months after the great battle a deputation from London, including even Edgar Atheling himself, offered the crown to William. He accepted it, and on Christmas Day, 1066, William, Duke of Normandy, was lawfully chosen and crowned king of England.

3. THE RULE OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

The Harshness of Norman Rule.—The Norman Conquest was no accident. The invaders were the stronger race, more hardy, intelligent, thrifty, and sober than the English, and they were better armed and organized. On the other hand, they were more brutal and cruel in their methods



NORMAN CASTLE

A, Ditch, or moat; *B*, outer wall, or curtain; *C*, gatehouse, with draw-bridge; *D*, bailey, or outer court; *E*, palisade; *F*, stairway to keep; *G*, inner gatehouse; *H*, keep

than the conquered people had ever been. It was not long before the Englishman found that, for him, as against the Norman, justice did not exist. The conqueror ruled with an iron grip. Norman ruffians might seize an Englishman's property, or carry off his wife, but the conquered race could get no redress. Of course, revolts broke out. As of old, however, the English were not united and did not take common action. Revolt in the south-west centred at

Exeter, but it died out when William took that place in 1068 and built within its walls a strong Norman tower, in which he lodged a Norman garrison to overawe the city. He had to build many such towers; he did it by forced labour, and they dotted the whole conquered land—symbols, in their rugged strength, of the resolve of the Norman to hold what he had won. The massive Tower of London stands to-day almost unchanged since it was reared by William.

The Conquest of the North, 1069-70, and of Scotland, 1072.—In the north William did something more terrible than the building of towers. Repeated revolts roused at last his fiery anger and he took a thorough vengeance. Of the many pages of history stained with blood, none is darker than that which tells of his harrying of the North. Over the space of sixty miles from York to Durham, he destroyed cattle, orchards, houses, mills, and even churches, and left only a black waste where formerly had been towns and villages. Men, women, and children perished by hundreds. Years after, when he lay dying, these scenes rose to torture his conscience. In the depth of winter he crossed from York to Chester, working the same devastation. He contemptuously dismissed those of his followers who murmured at the danger of death on the way from cold and starvation. Chester fell, and the terror reached the heart of his foes on the Welsh border. William had mastered England by ruining half of it. The last English revolt was in the fen country about Ely. Here William built a causeway across the marshes, and at length captured Ely. Then even Hereward, the bravest of the English leaders, yielded and entered his service. William's arm reached beyond England. Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland, had married Edgar Atheling's sister, Margaret, and had made the Scottish court a refuge for the rebel English. Malcolm ravaged the far north of England and carried off many of William's subjects into slavery. William bided his time. At length, in 1072, when he was equipped for

his revenge, he marched into Scotland and in a short campaign forced Malcolm to acknowledge himself the vassal of the king of England. Thus began that claim of the Norman ruler of England to be lord also of Scotland which was to cause many centuries of strife. William had plans to subdue Ireland too, but it was not easy to cross the strip of sea and they were never carried out.

The Confiscation of Land by the Normans.—Though cruel and ruthless, William was not a lawless tyrant. He had, indeed, a passion for order. He was, he said, what Harold had never been—the lawful successor of Edward the Confessor. All who had fought against him on the side of Harold were traitors, who by their treason had forfeited their lands. Later revolts increased the forfeitures, and William had vast estates of English land-owners with which to reward his followers. To about twenty thousand Normans, some noble by birth, some only cooks or gamekeepers, went in this way the greater part of England. Laws and customs remained as in the old England, but all real power passed into the hands of the Norman masters. So also did power in the church. Stigand, the English Archbishop of Canterbury, was replaced by William's friend, Lanfranc, who had been Abbot of Bec, in Normandy. The change from English to Norman barons and prelates was so complete that not an English earl, and but one English bishop, was left at the close of the reign.

Feudalism.—When William made grants of land, the terms were regulated under the prevailing system of the time, known as Feudalism. It bound together owner and tenant in mutual service. To-day, in a well-ordered state, all classes can trust in the protection of the law. In a lawless age, however, the strong pillaged the weak. To be safe the small occupier of land bought the protection of a powerful neighbour by taking a solemn oath to be a true and faithful vassal. In England the word "feudal" had not hitherto been in use, but now, since William had England in his gift, he made himself feudal lord over all the land.

To his chief followers he made grants of great estates, and they became his tenants-in-chief, vassals of the king. The tenants-in-chief, in turn, made grants from their estates to their own vassals. These lesser men did not hold land by direct grant from the king, but he insisted, none the less, that he was their supreme lord, who must be obeyed. On receiving his land, the vassal knelt and put his hands between his lord's and solemnly vowed to be his man and do him true service against his foes—in feudal phrase, did homage and swore fealty. The chief service was military. The tenant must furnish his lord with as many armed men as the size of his holding called for. They served during a definite period, usually forty days in each year.

The vassal must, however, perform other services than those involved in fighting for his lord. When the lord had special needs, the vassal must come to his help. In England these needs were, in time, defined as three. The vassal must aid to meet the outlay when the lord's eldest son was knighted, when his eldest daughter was married, and when the lord himself was taken captive and forced to pay a ransom. Under feudal tenure the nation was a great family, bound by something like family ties to its supreme feudal lord, the king. If the heir to a great property was a minor, the king was his lawful guardian. If a woman succeeded to such a property, she was bound to take a husband whom the king sometimes named for her, since only a man could perform the required military service. The king's assent was necessary when the property of tenants-in-chief changed hands. If a tenant died without an heir, the land reverted to the king. If a tenant proved a coward in the day of battle or unfaithful at any time to the king, he might forfeit his land. At every turn the land-holder came face to face with the king's authority.

The Peasants.—The great land-holders, the tenants-in-chief, had many manors; the small land-holders had only one. But even a single manor contained several thousand acres. In the manor house dwelt the lord of the manor—

the squire of a later day. All the people on his land were subject to his authority. The Norman master held his court regularly in the great hall of the manor house, settled disputes, punished law-breakers and pocketed the fines which he might impose. In the village near the manor house dwelt the men who worked on the land. Some of them were free men, who paid, usually in labour, for the rent of their few acres. But most of the labourers were villeins, who, while not slaves, were yet in a servile condition and could not leave the manor. They cultivated small holdings for their own use, but they had to labour for their lord—to tend his flocks, to till his fields, to work on his buildings, and to repair his roads. The Norman landholder was a sterner master than had been his English predecessor, and the lot of the peasant was indeed hard. The day was to come in England when the peasants should win their freedom, but only after a bloody revolt.

Domesday Book, 1085-86.—William the Conqueror was a man to make his authority real. He would have no subject as powerful as Godwin had been, and he quickly abolished the four great earldoms into which England had been divided. He granted lands with a free hand. Robert of Mortain secured seven hundred and ninety-three manors; Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, four hundred and thirty-nine. William himself kept more than a thousand. When we remember the many acres of a manor, we see what vast estates some of the Normans received. They were forced to pay taxes to the king, and they found that William would exact the last farthing. The time came when, with his instinct for order, he desired exact knowledge about the land of his subjects, the nature of their titles, and the amount of taxes they could pay. To gain this he sent commissioners from shire to shire, and nothing escaped them. They noted every house, every acre of wood-land and of meadow, every mill, every fish-pond. Not only human beings, but horses, pigs, sheep, even beehives, found place in the relentless roll. Most of this heavy work was

done within a year, and its parchment record, known as Domesday Book, because, like the Day of Doom, it spared no one, still exists, the most treasured of English public documents.

William's Punishments.—William found it no easy task to hold his great men in subjection. More than once Norman leaders, the men who had fought with him at Hastings, broke out in revolt. In 1075 William crushed the first Norman rising with relentless severity. Following Norman custom, he executed hardly any one. He did, however, what was worse; he blinded the humbler rebels, or cut off their feet. The leaders received treatment more gentle and were exiled or imprisoned. One leader he put to death. Waltheof had been a great English earl under Edward the Confessor and many of the English looked upon him as their natural leader. William watched him closely, and accused him of a share in the rising of 1075. Probably Waltheof was innocent but, fearing that he was disloyal, William caused him to be beheaded. No Norman guilty of treason met with the fate of this Englishman. The one man on whom William inflicted the death penalty belonged to the subject race.

The Gemot at Salisbury, 1086.—William never succeeded in forming a united English nation. That was the task of his great-grandson, Henry II. But he did make every one acknowledge his sway. Probably by an accident of the Conquest, the estates of his great vassals were scattered over many counties. Their power was thus divided, and William spared no effort to make sure that they should obey him. At last, in 1086, when Domesday Book was completed, he summoned all land-holders to meet him in a "Great Gemot" on Salisbury Plain. Thousands gathered, and from each one William required, as high above all other duties, a direct oath of allegiance to himself. Every lesser duty of great and small land-holders alike must yield to the supreme duty of serving the king. William changed the name of the Witenagemot to that of the Great Council. He enlarged

it, too, for now it was composed of all who held land directly from him. Three times in the year he summoned them to meet him, and by keeping the members, in this way, ever under his eye, William made himself the one all-embracing power in the land. Without his licence a baron could not build a castle. Of course, the barons chafed at this control, and only long after, under Henry II, was their power finally broken.

Church Courts Established in England.—In the church William found a steadfast ally. Lanfranc, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, was an Italian, who had practised law until religious zeal led him to become a monk. He was shocked at the dense ignorance of the native clergy and the general slackness of clerical life. Reform was greatly needed. Lanfranc removed to the important towns the seats of the bishops, who, in the old England, had lived often in obscure villages. He put Norman bishops and abbots in the places of Englishmen, now considered either unprogressive or disloyal. To the bishops he gave new power. They now secured the right to maintain their own courts, in which accused clergy and cases touching religion were tried. This right caused trouble to later kings of England, but at first it brought to the church new unity and vigour. There was a limit to what William was ready to concede. When the Pope asked him to admit that he held England as the church's vassal, he sternly refused and insisted that, until he consented, no Pope should be recognized in England, no synod held, no subject excommunicated.

The New Forest.—William's later years were gloomy. His eldest son, Robert, who had no share in the spoils of England, demanded Normandy during his father's lifetime. William refused and, in a struggle that followed, the rebellious son nearly killed his father with his own hand. William's beloved queen, Matilda, died in 1083, and the lonely man was not softened by his sorrow. Nothing shows more clearly how ruthless he could be than his creation of

the New Forest. He had a passion for hunting. "He loved the tall stags," it was said, "as if he were their father;" no one might hunt the deer or the wild boar without his leave. For the royal pursuit of hunting he needed a great park. In England he lived chiefly at Winchester, and since the park near Winchester was small, he proceeded to add to it some of the surrounding country. To do this he swept away the homes of many people, whole villages, and even churches, and seemed to delight in the ruin wrought for his own selfish pleasure.

The Death of William the Conqueror.—It was when working destruction in France that William met his death. He and the king of France quarrelled over the control of the territory known as the Vexin. While William lay at Rouen, undergoing treatment for his unwieldy corpulence, a brutal sneer of the French king was reported to him. His wrath burst forth. He marched into the Vexin at harvest-time, destroyed the grain as it stood in the fields, and took and burned Mantes, the capital. As he rode through the ruined town, his horse stumbled over burning embers, and he received a mortal injury. His mind was clear to the last. He had always been sincerely religious, and now, with the deep sense of sin which is so profound a trait of his age, he saw and acknowledged the evil in his life. He ordered Mantes to be rebuilt from his immense hoards, left gifts to charity in expiation for the bloodshed he had caused in England, and admitted that he had no rightful claim to its crown. In those days, when a king died, every one did what he liked until a new king made good his authority. William's attendants stripped his body almost naked, seized what they could, and rushed away to guard their own interests. The dead Conqueror was carried to Caen for burial. During the service a man named Asceline shouted out that William had robbed him of the land in which the interment was to take place, and the service stopped until the claim was settled. The incidents are characteristic of the age. Everywhere we meet violence,

but we meet, too, the constraining power of a religion that has dire terrors for the sinful.

4. THE EXACTIONS OF WILLIAM RUFUS

William Rufus, "the Red King," 1087-1100.—While William lay dying, he admitted freely that he had no right to name his successor. From his deathbed, however, he dictated a letter to Lanfranc, favouring William, his second surviving son. William hurried to England with this letter, and it was really Lanfranc who made him king. He was crowned in 1087, apparently without election by the Witan and with no sanction but his father's wish and the archbishop's act—a striking evidence of the power of the church and of the weakness of national life. The crown did not belong to William by right of birth; his elder brother Robert was alive and claimed to be the lawful heir. William proved a vicious ruler. This strong, fat, red-faced monarch, with restless eyes and a profane and rash tongue, violated most of the decencies of his time. Yet he had something of his father's vigour and daring. In almost the last year of his life, when mounted for hunting in the New Forest, he heard bad news from the continent. Setting spurs to his horse, he rode alone to Southampton, sprang into the first ship he saw, a crazy craft, and ordered the crew to go out to sea. They protested that a storm was gathering. "Kings never drown," said Rufus, and sailed away.

The English Aid the King to Crush the Norman Barons, 1087.—William Rufus, like his father, found it a difficult task to check the barons. He had not ruled nine months before they broke out into revolt. They wished to make William's easy-going brother Robert king, feeling certain that he would put upon them no restraining hand, but would let them do as they liked. Had their plan succeeded, England would have been held by a horde of Norman nobles, able to defy the king and to coerce the conquered English at pleasure. The peril was real, and William

appealed to the English for help against their Norman oppressors. For the first time a Norman king found the chief basis of his security in the support of the despised English. William took by storm, or starved into surrender, the strongholds of the rebels, and was at last secure; secure, too, by the aid of the conquered nation.

The Exactions of Ranulf Flambard.—When strong enough, William made the barons feel his heavy hand. He saw that his feudal rights as sovereign could be made to serve his purpose, and he found in Ranulf Flambard (the Fire-brand) one who would do the work he required. He gave him the office of justiciar, or chief minister, of the king, and in the end, with no regard for decency, made this man of evil life Bishop of Durham. With fiendish ingenuity Flambard pressed every claim that the king could urge upon his tenants. When a tenant died, he made the heir pay a heavy fine before he could take possession of his lands; when a child was owner, the king, the legal guardian, wasted the estate until little was left; when an unmarried woman inherited a feudal holding, the king sometimes sold to the highest bidder the right to marry her (p. 60). With the money thus extorted William kept up a mercenary army, which put stern pressure on his foes. "Justice slept and money was lord," says a writer of the time.

The Rise of Chivalry.—Yet, in spite of this violence, we find in the age a new spirit of brotherhood, for chivalry now becomes important in England. It was a league of knights, under lofty rules of conduct, inspired by love of adventure and of war. The aspirant to knighthood went through a long apprenticeship. From the early age of seven he served one already a knight as page, cleaned his armour and weapons, sometimes even groomed his horse and performed other menial services. At fourteen he chose a lady as the special object of the often fantastic devotion to the gentler sex which plays so large a part in the system. He was finally ordained to service as a knight by a very solemn ritual. After fasting, prayer, and confession of his

sins, he partook of the sacrament and made his sacred vows. To be loyal to God and to the king, to be true in all his undertakings, to prefer honour to gain, to be pure, to reverence purity in women and to serve them, were among the pledges of the knight. Chivalry was a league among those of gentle blood, and its obligations, even to women, did not extend to the lower classes; but it was in itself a lofty code for an age of brute force and helped to make war more merciful and to keep high ideals before the mind.

The Conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks, 1071.—It was in the days of William Rufus that the Crusades began, and they were largely inspired by the spirit of chivalry. Christian pilgrims had long flocked to the Holy Land, devoutly hoping to gain spiritual benefit by looking upon the scenes of Christ's life, by treading the sacred soil which His feet had trod. For some four hundred years the Arabs had held Jerusalem. As Moslems, they despised the Christians, but they allowed them to have access to the holy places connected with Christ's life and death. Now, however, the Arabs were themselves conquered by savage Turks, who swept down from central Asia and in 1071 made themselves masters of Jerusalem. Soon everything was changed for the Christian pilgrims. They were shut out from the holy places, they were brutally treated, robbed, often even killed.

The First Crusade.—The Turks advanced westward into Asia Minor. The Christian Emperor, Alexius, who ruled at Constantinople, was powerless to check them and turned to Europe for aid. He and the oppressed Christians of Jerusalem begged Urban II for help, and at last that able Pope took up their cause with fervour. He called a council to meet at Clermont in southern France, in 1095, to consider the situation. To the crowds who obeyed his call the Pope made a passionate appeal to come forward and take a red cross which was fastened on their dress, as the sign of a pledge to join in the rescue of the Holy Land. Thousands were seized with the desire to join in the holy

war; the movement is one of the most amazing in history. Peter the Hermit, an eloquent man and one of the outraged pilgrims, had returned to Europe, and he went from town to town telling the tale of his sufferings, with a fiery eloquence that attracted attention. Since the pilgrims were very numerous, nearly every family in western Europe had some relative in the East. The excitement on the question grew intense. In 1096 vast multitudes set out. Some went by land, some by sea. Great numbers perished on the way, but the crusaders did what they aimed at doing. In 1099 they took Jerusalem, with a terrible slaughter of its Moslem inhabitants, and set up there a Christian kingdom.

William Rufus Secures Normandy, 1096.—William Rufus was no crusader, for he hated the Christian religion and was not likely to do anything to aid it. On the other hand, his brother, Robert of Normandy, was devout and generous and precisely the type of man to join such a movement. He pledged himself to go to the East, but was so poor that he had no money to equip his force for the expedition. In the end he borrowed ten thousand marks from Rufus, and, as security for the debt, handed over the control of Normandy, which William kept for the rest of his life.

At the height of his defiant career, William Rufus was struck down while hunting in the New Forest. An arrow, shot we know not by whom, pierced his brain, and he was found dead. Some labourers carried to Winchester the body dripping with blood. It was laid in a tomb in the cathedral, but no Christian rites were permitted over so evil-living a king. "God shall never see me a good man," he had once said: "I have suffered too much at His hands;" and he was true to his word.

5. HENRY I, "THE LION OF JUSTICE"

Henry I, 1100-1135.—Robert had not returned from the East, and no absent claimant had any chance of gaining the crown. His younger brother, Henry, was also hunting

in the New Forest on the day when Rufus was killed. As soon as Henry learned the news, he hurried to Winchester, seized the royal treasure, and gained success by his vigour. A hasty meeting of a few leading men confirmed his title to the crown. He won the church and other interests by lavish promises of reforms. On the day when he was crowned, he issued a Charter of Liberties, which condemned in every line the rule of Rufus. To ensure the support of the English people, Henry soon married a princess of the old English royal line. His bride was Edith, known as queen by the Norman name of Matilda, or Maud, the daughter of the sainted Margaret, queen of Scotland, and the granddaughter of Edmund Ironside. It is through her that the present royal house is descended from Alfred the Great. The marriage helped to win for Henry the support of the English people. When Robert of Normandy claimed the throne, as the eldest son of the Conqueror, the masses of the English stood by Henry. In the end he was able not merely to hold England, but also, by the aid of an English army, to conquer Normandy and to add it to his dominions. Hastings was indeed avenged when the despised English thus humbled the proud Normans.

The Struggle About Investiture.—Henry had a quarrel with the church. Anselm, the successor of Lanfranc, had been driven into exile by William Rufus, because he would not admit the king's claim to tax the English church and to direct its policy. Much to the joy of the English, Anselm came back when Henry secured the throne. But new disputes soon arose. The church now claimed to be independent of the state, in order to be free to carry on its spiritual work. Anselm refused to do homage (p. 60) to the king for the lands of his see, and he would not accept at Henry's hands investiture, a ceremony in which the king handed a bishop a pastoral staff and a ring, as symbols of his office. Anselm's claim was that, since the king had no right of control over the clergy, it was not fitting that he should install a bishop in office. Henry retorted that

Anselm's predecessors had made no such claims. The result was that Anselm lived abroad until a compromise was at last reached in 1107. It provided that ecclesiastics should still do homage to the king for their lands, but that in future they should receive from the church alone the symbols of their spiritual office.

The Strong Rule of Henry I.—There is little in Henry's reign to excite admiration, except that he gave England peace. His devout demeanour stands in favourable contrast with the impiety of Rufus, but his impurity, untruth, cruelty, cunning, and avarice show that he was in morals not greatly superior to that wicked king. For his time, he was highly educated. He is said to have studied Greek, and he knew Latin, English, and, of course, his mother-tongue, French. Yet he was not superior to the barbarism of his age, and once, at least, took revenge by putting out the eyes of innocent children. He had the passion of his race for hunting. No baron might cut down the forests on his own estates or hunt in them, without the royal permission, and the dogs in the neighbourhood of forests were maimed, lest they should disturb the king's sport. Henry's virtue as a ruler is that he showed self-control and minuté diligence. The "Lion of Justice" his people called him, and he ruled with a sway even-handed and impartial, but often oppressive. His hand was felt everywhere. Officials, known as Barons of the Exchequer, went up and down the country to see that the king secured the large sums due from taxes and fines levied in his courts. He was as grasping as had been his father.

The Failure of a Direct Male Heir to the Throne.—When the long reign of Henry was drawing to its close, he was troubled about the succession. His heir, William, while crossing the Channel, had been drowned, in 1120, in the wreck of the *White Ship*. One child remained to Henry, his daughter Matilda, or Maud, and he resolved that she should be queen. It was not a happy choice. A woman ruler was almost unknown at the time, and, moreover,

Matilda herself was arrogant and tactless. After her husband, the emperor Henry V, died in 1125, she married Geoffrey, Duke of Anjou, and bore a son, destined, as Henry II, to be perhaps the ablest of all the kings of England. Henry I made his barons swear to support Matilda's claims, and among those who gave their solemn oath was Stephen, Earl of Blois, the son of Henry's sister, Adela. The oath thus taken was not kept. Henry died suddenly in Normandy in 1135, and when they made his tomb in the abbey which he had founded at Reading, it was not his daughter who reigned in England. Stephen of Blois had hurried across the Channel, to find the London merchants in a state of terror before the prospect of lawlessness under a woman ruler. He seized the royal treasure, the Londoners were uproarious in their applause, and he was duly made king.

6. ANARCHY UNDER STEPHEN

Stephen, 1135-1154.—The reign of Stephen proved one of the darkest in English history. The Norman kings had established a despotism which needed strength in the ruler, and Stephen was not strong. He was gentle, brave, and generous; his manners were affable; on occasion he could act with decisive energy; but he proved rash and reckless. Insecure from the outset, he won support by lavish promises. The barons quickly recovered their old independence, and each baron soon became a law to himself. The king's government almost ceased



STEPHEN

From a silver coin of his reign

to exist; the law courts did not sit; taxes were not collected. Stephen brought hired soldiers to England, and when he could not pay them, they paid themselves by robbery. He

debased the coinage, and, by thus making the value of money insecure, nearly ruined the business of the merchants. His brother, Henry, the powerful Bishop of Winchester, had helped to put him on the throne, and Stephen had promised to guard the church's liberties. But he broke this promise, too, and by seizing church property made an enemy of his own brother. Stephen was able to check one powerful assailant. In 1138 the Scots invaded England to support his rival, Matilda, but they met a decisive check in the Battle of the Standard. At Hastings, the English peasants had not known the use of the bow; now, chiefly with its aid, they broke the charge of the Scots, who fled in wild disorder.

Civil War in England.—The empress Matilda herself landed in England in 1139, and civil war followed. The church now threw its great weight with Matilda and formally acknowledged her as queen. She took Stephen prisoner and for a time it looked as if she could hold the throne. But she lost friends by her arrogance. To follow the struggle would be vain. The foundations of order were broken up, and England fell into such cruel disorder that pious minds declared that Christ and the saints must be asleep: every one, it is said, did what was *wrong* in his own eyes. To realize the state of the country is to understand the horrors certain to result in a lawless age if the king proves weak. The barons built hundreds of strong castles. When thus safe from attack, they engaged in cruel robbery, plundered the helpless peasantry, and invented new tortures to force concealed treasures from their victims. Bands of outlaws burned or sacked Nottingham, Winchester, Lincoln, and other towns. The plunderers destroyed even the crops in the fields. "You might go," says a writer of the time, "a day's journey, and not find an inhabited village, or an acre of tilled land." England had a vivid object lesson in the need of union under a strong king.

The disorder lasted for nearly seventeen years. When

Stephen was growing old, his heir, Eustace, died. All were now weary of the struggle, and to end it Stephen accepted Matilda's son, Henry as his heir. Stephen died in 1154. Bad as was the reign, it was not wholly fruitless. The power of the church grew, for she alone could offer a secure haven amid the prevailing anarchy. One hundred and nineteen monasteries were built during the reign, and they helped to check the barbarism which was sweeping over the country. In those lawless days one of the greatest lawyers of the time, Vacarius, came from Italy to England to lecture upon law and to teach new conceptions of order. So true is it that often in what seems the darkest hour new forces making for recovery are already at work.

CHAPTER IV

THE FORMING OF THE ENGLISH NATION

1. THE UNION OF THE NATION UNDER HENRY II

Henry II, 1154–1189.—The weakness of Stephen had invited anarchy. Now came to the throne a young man, strong, resolved to be master, eager to strike down baron or bishop who stood in his way, a keen student of law, and



so the enemy of lawlessness. When, at twenty-one, Henry II added England to his other dominions, he was ruler of many and varied realms. From his father he inherited Anjou* and adjoining regions; from his mother, Normandy and England; through his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, he controlled that great state, a good part of southern France, which continued for three hundred years to be ruled by the kings of England. He was master of the sea-coast from the Pyrenees to the Low Countries. On the con-

tinent he ruled twice as much territory as the king of France. A great part of his life was passed in toilsome

*Henry's line is called the Angevin line, and sometimes the Plantagenet, from the bit of the plant, *genet*, or broom, worn by his father, Geoffrey, in his helmet.

journeys through his many realms, to no one of which he wholly belonged. Lord of many lands, he was in reality without a country.

The Character of Henry II.—Henry, red and freckled, with a powerful frame, short-cropped hair, and square face, is the picture of untiring vigour. He was capable and far-sighted, and he had a genius for organization which left its stamp on England. His mind and body were ever active; even at mass he would write busily. He often yielded to sudden impulses. He might summon his great men for a council, and when they obeyed his summons, it would be found that he had gone off for a day's hunting. He moved about with amazing rapidity. "The king of England does not ride or sail, he flies," said the king of France. The disorder surrounding Henry was compared to the chaos of the infernal regions. He cared nothing for comfort, and there was scarcely a trace of ceremony at his court. Visitors might come and talk to him wherever they could find him, at dinner, in church, even in bed. We find in him a strange mixture of good and evil. He was fond of reading and of the society of learned men. For suffering he showed a pity that was rare in his time and class. He built, indeed, few churches and monasteries, but he founded many hospitals and refuges for the poor. He loved justice. He was, however, no saint. At times his temper was ungovernable, and then his words were wild, his actions those of a madman, for he tore his clothes and, in his rage, rolled on the floor and gnawed the straw. He had a passionate love for his children, but he used them as pawns in his game of politics and expected them to submit. It was



HENRY II

From his tomb at Fontevrault

their disobedience that brought dark clouds upon his later years.

Henry's Dispute with Becket.—It was not long before Henry became involved in a bitter quarrel with the church. Under the Conqueror (p. 63), the church had her own courts for the trial of clergy accused of crime. Rightly or wrongly Henry became convinced that, while the state courts were punishing crime severely, the church courts were shielding clerical criminals. When he tried to lay hands on offenders among the clergy, he was warned that the church alone had authority to deal with them. When he levied taxes on the clergy, he was met by protest that the state had no right to take church revenues devoted to the service of God alone. To a king of Henry's imperious temper such checks were maddening, and he formed the resolve to judge and to tax the clergy as he did his other subjects.

Soon after Henry became king, he made Thomas Becket his chancellor. Becket, the son of a wealthy London merchant, was one of the clergy and held the rich post of Archdeacon of Canterbury. His private life was pure. Since Henry's own life was far from this, it is to his credit that he should have made an intimate friend of Becket. Now he relied upon Becket to carry out his policy and he was not mistaken. Becket forced new taxes from the clergy, which they paid under bitter protest, and he was so little clerical that he donned a helmet and fought as a soldier at the head of Henry's troops. He was handsome and cultivated and loved pomp and state. Here, surely, Henry thought, was the man to promote still farther and to put at the very head of the church. Accordingly, in 1162, Becket, at the age of forty-four, became Archbishop of Canterbury.

Becket, though a courtier, was an honest man who cared, and cared profoundly, for the church's work. As its head in England he now saw that he must guard its interests against the attacks of the king, and Henry soon found that in Becket he had raised up an arch-enemy of his policy. A

furious quarrel followed quickly. Becket was obstinate, and his own friends found him unreasonable. Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, an abler man and as good a churchman, once, after long and vain remonstrances, said to Becket bluntly: "You were ever a fool, you are still one, and you will always be one." As soon as Becket became archbishop, he adopted an austere mode of life. He rose in the night for prayer; at daybreak he engaged in the study of the Scriptures; daily he washed the feet of thirteen poor men and served them at table; beneath his rich garments he wore a hair shirt. In these ascetic habits and in his opposition to the king's policy, there is no reason to doubt his sincerity. He believed that the church must be free to rebuke even kings, and that, to be free, she must have complete control of her own servants.

The Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164.—When Henry found that he could not rely upon Becket's support, he summoned the Great Council to meet him at the royal hunting-seat of Clarendon in 1164. Becket was, of course, there, and Henry demanded that he should assent to the "ancient customs" of the realm. Becket, anxious to appear as claiming only undoubted rights, promised to do so. Then he saw that he had been trapped. What were the vague customs which he thus undertook to accept? Henry soon made this clear. A committee, composed of the oldest and wisest of the barons, drew up hurriedly, within nine days, a document famous in history as the Constitutions of Clarendon. In sixteen articles it defined the ancient customs. There were to be no appeals to Rome without the king's consent, and none of the higher clergy might even leave the kingdom without this consent. The most important point, however, was that respecting clergy charged with crime. It was now declared that such persons must first appear in a secular court to plead guilty or not guilty. If they claimed the right to be tried in a church court, they might then go, in charge of a royal officer, to such a court. It could, however, decide only guilt or innocence. Persons

found guilty were to be degraded from their clerical office and then returned to the secular court for sentence. The result would be that clergy who committed murder, for instance, would be executed exactly as were lay criminals. For six days Becket fought the proposals clause by clause. The debates ended, and the king demanded that Becket should affix his seal to the customs. "I will never seal them, never, as long as I breathe," said Becket. He withdrew to Winchester, full of remorse that he had given even a verbal promise to obey the customs. Nine months later he again met the king in a council at Northampton, but he was still firm, and at length, boldly announcing his appeal to Rome, he escaped from Northampton in disguise and passed over to the continent.

The Murder of Becket, 1170.—The strife with Becket went on for six years. At last, in 1170, some kind of peace was made, and with the king's leave Becket returned to England. Yet the quarrel was not at an end. Roger, Archbishop of York, had been suspended from office by the Pope, because he had crowned Henry's son as king, in the face of protests that the right to do this belonged to Becket. Now, on landing, Becket was met by an insistent demand that he should absolve Roger and two other suspended bishops. This he declined to do. When Henry was keeping Christmas on the continent, the three bishops, who had hurried across the Channel, fell at his feet and told their story. In a passion Henry burst out: "Will none of the cowards who eat my bread rid me of this turbulent priest?" Four knights thought this a warrant to use force with the archbishop, and before they slept on that Christmas Eve, they took a solemn vow to make him yield. On the evening of December 29th, they appeared before Becket at Canterbury and demanded his submission. He would yield not a jot to their threats. Then in savage anger the knights committed a terrible crime. They slew Becket in Canterbury Cathedral.

The Invasion of Ireland, 1171.—All Europe was aghast

at the murder, and no one was more horror-stricken than Henry himself. After such a tragedy the church might take strong action, and to be out of the way for a time, Henry now did what he had long planned—he went to Ireland to make it a part of his realms. That island, so strong when it sent out missionaries to Scotland and to England, had fallen upon evil days. The Danes had harassed it, but confined their attacks to the sea-coast. The interior remained divided among tribes, as England had been divided, until it was forced into unity by the Norman conqueror. These tribes warred on one another and made Ireland ever weaker against outside attack.

Henry II, Lord of Ireland.—From the first Henry II had seen that Ireland was needed to round out his dominions. Recently, Dermot, an Irish chieftain at war with his neighbours, had appealed to Henry for help, and Henry allowed Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed “Strongbow,” to go with some followers to Ireland. “Strongbow” married the daughter of Dermot and was soon in a fair way to master the country. Henry had no desire to see one of his own nobles supreme in Ireland. Moreover, if he went there himself, he could delay the penalties to be imposed on him for the murder of Becket. So he gathered together four thousand troops and landed in Ireland in the autumn of the year 1171. None of the warring tribes could rival such a display of force, and before Christmas, they had all, with the exception of the ruler of Connaught, acknowledged Henry as overlord. Henry spent six months in Ireland. During this time he placed garrisons in a few of the coast towns and established some English followers, chiefly at Dublin. His so-called conquest of Ireland meant little more than the planting of these few English in the country. Yet, since the Irish had acknowledged him as overlord, he and his successors from that time have claimed the rights of rulers over the island. Henry’s son, John, became “lord” of Ireland. Many years later, Henry VIII changed the title to that of “king.”

Henry's Reconciliation with the Church.—On Easter Day, 1172, Henry sailed away from Ireland, knowing that many troubles awaited him elsewhere. He had now to make peace with the church over the brutal murder of Becket, and to do this was his first care. He was obliged to accept terms unwelcome to him. Of the question of the trial of accused clergy nothing was said, and on that point he seems to have had his own way. But he had to admit the right of appeal to Rome by his subjects in causes ecclesiastical, and he promised expiation for the rash words which had brought about the death of Becket. Henry did not go to Canterbury until 1174. When he did go, he knelt in lowly penitence at the tomb of Becket and allowed each of the clergy who were there, some eighty in number, it is said, to strike not fewer than three blows upon his bared back as a scourging for his sin. Throughout a whole night he remained in prayer in the great cathedral. This completed the reconciliation with the church, which was henceforth his steadfast friend.

Henry's Defeat of the Barons, 1174.—Such a friend Henry needed, for a host of enemies rose up against him. He had alarmed the barons by his steady resolve to check their lawlessness. Moreover, his policy now drove his own sons into a league against him. In this family strife lies the chief tragedy of Henry's history. He loved his children passionately and gave them great positions. In 1170 he even permitted his eldest son, Henry, to be crowned king of England, and to his younger sons, Geoffrey and Richard, he gave territories on the continent. They kept up their separate courts with all the pomp of rulers. Yet they found that Henry would never yield them power real enough to lessen his own control of all his dominions. Naturally the sons grew restless, and the year 1173 saw Henry at the crisis of his life.

The young Henry demanded complete control of England or, failing this, of Normandy. When his demand was refused, he and his brothers joined a powerful conspiracy.

Henry's wife, Eleanor, went so far as to put on male attire and to take the field with her sons against him. A crowd of English and Norman barons, William the Lion, king of Scots, Louis VII of France, and many others, joined in the attack. The church, however, stood by Henry, and the age believed that the spirit of Becket, appeased by Henry's penance, was a powerful ally. Only a few days after Henry's prayers at the tomb of the martyr, a courier burst into his bedroom at midnight to say that the king of Scots had been captured in the north. Everywhere Henry was victorious. He defeated the English barons, and henceforth they dared not raise a hand against him; for the time he dictated terms to his own sons; and William the Lion was not given his liberty until he did homage to Henry as his vassal—a deep humiliation for the proud nation of the Scots.

Henry was on the throne for thirty-five years and thus had time to effect much. Striking results emerge clearly from his long labours.

The Inquisition of Sheriffs, 1170.—The king's authority was made effective everywhere in England. This had not been the case up to this time, for, in spite of William the Conqueror's efforts to check the great barons, some of them wielded power almost regal. They had the ancient right to hold their own feudal courts, in which they tried cases affecting their tenants. In each shire there was, besides, a shire, or county, court presided over by the sheriff (shire reeve). This important officer was supposed to represent the king but, in fact, he was usually a great baron, who thus controlled, for his own benefit, the county court as well as his own feudal court. It was profitable for a baron to administer justice, since he pocketed the fines which he levied. If for no other reason than to get this money himself, Henry was resolved to take justice more completely into his own hands. He had, however, other reasons. In the lawless days of Stephen the barons had learned habits of violence. The prospect that such a class would be fair to the common people was not good, and

Henry was resolved that the English should have impartial justice. Suddenly he took a strong step. The country was startled in 1170, when he dismissed most of the sheriffs who were barons and appointed his own men in their places.

The Beginning of Trial by Jury.—The dismissal of the sheriffs was only part of a plan which Henry was carrying out. His Assize, or Law, of Clarendon of 1166 outlined his policy. It provided that royal judges should be sent into all parts of England to inquire about disorder. It contained also the germ of trial by jury, based on earlier customs among both the English and the Normans. To preserve order in the counties, Henry ordained in this law that twelve men in each hundred should be a jury, whose duty it would be to report for punishment the lawless persons in their districts. At first the jurors reported what they themselves knew. It was a later change that made them give their verdict on the evidence of other witnesses. This jury was the forerunner of the grand jury of the present day, which examines the charge, or "bill," against an accused person and finds either that there is "no bill," and dismisses the case, or that there is a "true bill," and sends the accused to trial. The petty jury, which hears the cases in regard to which there are "true bills," was developed in later days. Before Henry died England was divided into circuits, visited regularly by the royal judges to hold court, and in every hundred juries were hunting out and reporting for trial persons suspected of crime. Truly Henry II was a terror to evil-doers, great and small alike.

The Assize of Arms, 1181.—One other great thing that Henry, himself a capable soldier, did, was to reorganize the defence of England. The chief duty required from a feudal vassal was military service, and even the bishops must give such service for the lands which they held. Since, however, it was hardly fitting for a bishop to take part in war, he had been allowed to pay money in lieu of this service, and this money payment was known as scutage, from the *scutum*, or shield, of the knight for whose services

it paid. Henry quickly found that with money he could secure better soldiers than those supplied by his vassals, and in the end he levied scutage on the barons too. It enabled him to pay an army, which he might use anywhere. He reduced further the military power of the barons by issuing, in 1181, the Assize of Arms, which revived the national army or *fyrð* of the earlier days, under the leadership not of the great land-owners, but of the king. By this law every freeman was required to hold himself ready to appear, properly armed, at the king's call, in order to resist invasion or to put down rebellion. Such a step must have done much to awaken national spirit. It was, indeed, the work of Henry II which finally created an English nation. At this Henry did not aim consciously. What he wished was to make his own authority effective; but, by breaking the power of the barons, he made himself the leader of the whole nation. It was to be the fate of his debased son, John, to unite the barons and the people against a bad king, who misused the power won by Henry.

Defeat and Death of Henry II, 1189.—The last days of Henry II were lonely and unhappy. Though he had been able, in 1174, to defeat the attempts of his sons to gain greater independence, he found them ready to strike again for it if the opportunity should come. Henry and Geoffrey died before their father, but Richard, and John, the youngest son, leagued themselves with Henry's great enemy, the king of France. It is a long, sad story, the scene of which is laid not in England, but in Henry's dominions abroad. The old king was at last beaten. In 1189 he was forced to agree to hand over his Angevin dominions absolutely to Richard and to release from allegiance to himself all who had given aid to that rebellious son. They carried him, sick and dying, to Chinon, his early home. John was the favourite son, for whose good he had specially toiled, and when they brought to him in his bed the list of those whose allegiance was to be transferred to Richard, the first name was John's. "Has John, my very heart, my darling

child, indeed forsaken me?" cried Henry. He turned his face to the wall and moaned: "Let things go as they will. For myself or for the world I care no more." During three days while he lay dying, his servants robbed him of every valuable on which they could lay hands. When he was dead, they stripped his body and left it naked upon the floor in the bare room. There were some, however, to restore order, and upon the day after his death, Henry II was carried in royal state to the tomb at Fontevrault.

2. RICHARD, CŒUR DE LION

The Effect of the Crusades.—So well had Henry II done his work that, though his son, Richard I, during a reign of ten years stayed in England for only a few months, his throne was secure. Richard's heart was in that crusading movement which had now been running its course for about a hundred years. During all this time thousands had gone to the East. Many of them were inspired by pure zeal to restore to the Christian world the places made sacred by Christ's life. Less exalted motives, too, there were. Some went in the hope of gaining lands and riches; others in mere search of adventure; while there were traders who went to buy and sell. It is not easy to estimate the effects of the movement. Certainly it enlarged Europe's knowledge of the East. The travellers brought back sugar, cotton, muslin, lemons, melons, and many other things hitherto unknown in the West. They brought back, too, new conceptions of architecture and art that influenced the building of churches, castles, and houses. Yet, from the first, the enterprise was bound to fail. The success of the Crusades aroused the Moslem world to new efforts to recover Jerusalem, and the Christians proved weak in the time of danger. No single state existed in Europe capable of giving the continued support needed in the conflict. Instead, the leaders in the Crusades were often jealous of one another, and they worked together only half-heartedly. Moreover, the warm eastern climate proved deadly to men

who continued to keep up the military array of the West and rode over the burning sands in a crushing weight of armour. In time of peace they fell into luxurious eastern ways. We need not wonder, therefore, that, in 1187, after a long struggle, the Moslem leader, Saladin, re-took Jerusalem.

Richard I, 1189-1199.

—The news startled the western world and Richard, like a great many other leaders of his time, attempted with fiery zeal to recover what had been lost. To get money for his expedition to the East, the third Crusade, he even gave up the right of supremacy over Scotland which Henry II had wrung from William the Lion. Richard is reported to have said that he would sell London itself if he could find a purchaser rich enough.

While in the East, he fought with dash and heroism, but he achieved little. The best that the Christian army could effect was a truce, which gave Christians, for three years, the right of access to the holy places. On the way home, Richard, shipwrecked in the upper Adriatic, was taken prisoner and sold as a captive to the emperor, Henry



CRUSADER

Mail-clad from head to foot; the iron cap on the knee marks the beginning of plate armour; the robe with crosses is for protection from the sun.

VI. Only after more than a year's imprisonment, and when his overtaxed people promised a great ransom for him, was he free to return to England. He continued there but a few weeks, and he spent his remaining six years in war with Philip of France. In 1199 he was killed while besieging the petty castle of Chaluz-Chabrol.

The Barons, the Guardians of Order.—The reign of Richard might have been disastrous to England, but it was not really so. Though his people were obliged to pay heavily for his wars and his ransom, they yet took pride in the lion-hearted king, the most famous warrior of the age. Liberty grew in his absence. When William Longchamps, the chancellor, whom he left in authority, proved a bad ruler, the barons promptly drove him from the country. These barons were fighting now not against order, but for it. We hear no longer—we rarely hear again in English history—the claim that they were their own masters. Henceforward, obedience to the laws is in their own interests, and it is also in the interests of the people. Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, governed England as regent for Richard. He had to raise great sums of money, and in each district he let juries assess the taxes. Though the amount of the taxes was still fixed by the Great Council, the people themselves through these juries began to determine how taxes should be paid. It was a step toward liberty.

3. THE TYRANNY OF JOHN

John, 1199-1216.—Arthur, son of Richard's eldest brother, Geoffrey, was heir to the throne under the law of hereditary right which we now recognize. Yet Richard's younger brother, John, became king. This Richard had wished, and this the Great Council, which had the power to name the king, decided. When John was crowned, Hubert Walter declared, in strong terms, this right of the nation to choose its king. John, he said, was chosen because he was the fittest of the royal line. It was not a happy choice, for

John had a thoroughly base nature. He was always ready to promise freely, but he betrayed, in turn, every class in the state—the barons, the clergy, the people. Though he was able, as were nearly all of the Plantagenets, he proved indolent and depraved. He appears to have had no religious faith, for he refused to receive the communion at his coronation. Richard showed for his faults passionate and generous remorse, but John's regret for vile crimes never rose above the level of guilty fear. He could be courteous and winning in manner, but when he gave way to passion, he raved and swore, and chewed sticks and straw like a maniac.

The Loss of Normandy, 1204.—The young Arthur fell into John's hands and disappeared. No doubt he was murdered, and every one believed that John had killed him. It was this crime which lost Normandy to John. Philip of France had long wished to secure Normandy. Richard had seen the danger, and to check Philip had built the great Château Gaillard, the "Saucy Castle," on the Seine, blocking the way from Paris to the Norman capital, Rouen. This strong castle availed little, however, when Philip appealed to the Normans against John as a murderer. He attacked Château Gaillard, which fell after a terrible siege. John seemed dazed before this menace and struck scarcely a blow. In 1204 the tie between England and Normandy was broken, and that land, with Anjou, the home of John's race, and all that he held in northern France, passed out of his hands. John still held Aquitaine in southern France, and for more than two hundred years longer, it was ruled by his house. The break with Normandy meant much to England. English barons often had lands also in Normandy. Now they were forced to keep either their Norman or their English estates; they could not have both, and those who remained English owed their country undivided service.

Excommunication of John, 1209.—John tried to recover his lost territory, but wholly failed. With blind folly he

soon roused English anger against himself by his lawless deeds. He imprisoned or banished his tenants without trial, ravaged their lands, and levied intolerable taxes. He sold justice in his courts. He tortured rich men to get their money and starved to death not merely men but women whom he kept in prison. He used his legal right to the wardship of heirs who were minors, in order to sell the custody of their property to the highest bidders; he sold, also, the right to marry heiresses and widows of whom he was the feudal guardian. No wonder that in the end the barons renounced allegiance to such a king. After John had aroused the barons, his folly led him to quarrel with the church. Hubert Walter died in 1205, and this left vacant the office of Archbishop of Canterbury. Since the archbishop was always abbot of the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, it was the practice for the monks to elect as abbot a person chosen by the king, after consulting the bishops of the province, and this person became archbishop. Now, however, the monks did not consult John, but hurriedly chose their sub-prior and sent him to Rome to be confirmed by Pope Innocent III. When John learned this, he sent his own nominee to Rome without consulting the bishops. Thus both sides acted irregularly. The Pope did not like either nominee, and he named to the vacant see an English cardinal at Rome, Stephen Langton. John was furious. He swore that Langton should not set foot in England and laid hands on the property of his see. To check John, the resolute Innocent placed England under an interdict. All the churches were closed; mass was not said; even the dead were buried without sacred rites. Yet, during five gloomy years John, we are told, was "wonderfully little disturbed." He wrote insulting letters to the Pope, who at last excommunicated him. This meant that John should be treated as an outcast by all Christians. Following this, the Pope absolved John's subjects from their allegiance, and invited Philip of France to seize England, as he had already seized Normandy.

4. THE GREAT CHARTER

John's Submission to the Church, 1213.—John was beginning to see what his folly had done, and now, when he heard the prophecy of a holy hermit that within ten days he should cease to reign, he was seized with panic. The church could help him most, so he yielded to it on every point. He agreed to receive Langton as archbishop and to restore the church's property. He went farther and did what no king of England had ever done, what William the Conqueror had steadily refused to consider. In order to be sure of the Pope's support, he declared that he held England from him as lord and swore to be his true vassal and to pay him tribute. For a time it looked as if John had made a master-stroke. The Pope cancelled his call to Philip of France to invade England, and John turned the tables on Philip by invading France. But Philip's great victory at Bouvines in 1214 forced John back to England, broken and defeated. Barons and people were against him, and in spite of his submission he found that he could not count upon the church. The new archbishop proved to be a patriotic Englishman and threw his weight with those who were resolved that John's misrule should end. The foes of John took the field, and he was helpless. On June 15th, 1215, at the demand of the outraged nation, he signed at Runnymede, near Windsor, the famous document known as Magna Charta.

The Terms of the Great Charter, 1215.—In the Great Charter the barons summed up all the liberties admitted by earlier kings, by Edward the Confessor before the conquest, by Henry I and Henry II after it, and forced John to agree to observe them. The following are the chief pledges which John gave:

1. The law must be obeyed even by the king. His lawless tyranny must cease. A man's property must be secure. John was to give up no feudal rights; he was still to be the guardian of infant heirs and of heiresses; but he must not

go beyond his rights, as he had done in wasting the property of his wards and in forcing heiresses to marry any one whom he should choose.

2. Personal liberty must be sacred. No one was to be kept in prison, or punished, without lawful trial. Every one must have the right to justice in the courts, and no verdict was to be given for money. Thus runs the famous document: "No freeman shall be seized, or imprisoned, or in any way brought to ruin, nor will we go against any man or send against him, except by the lawful judgment of his equals, or by the law of the land. To no man will we sell, or delay, or deny right, or justice."

3. No taxes but those authorized by the law might be collected. The king was to have his old right of aids from his tenants-in-chief when he was a captive, when his eldest son was knighted, and his eldest daughter was married. But no other taxes might be imposed without the consent of the Great Council—the nearest approach to a Parliament which the nation yet had. Earlier kings had sometimes taxed the nation; henceforth the nation, and the nation alone, might tax itself—a new right which meant that the king must always ask the nation for the money he needed.

The Charter was wrung from John by the great barons, but though the barons were thinking chiefly of themselves, the Charter laid no stress on the special rights of their order. Not only they, but the church, the knights, the traders, and even the worker who toiled with his hands, were now to have the full protection of the law. Later ages, still fighting against royal tyranny, counted the Charter as the pledge of all the liberties of the English nation. What it did was to put the king under the most solemn obligations to obey the laws to which he had assented. The barons were sure that John would violate the Charter whenever he might think it safe to do so, and so they did one thing which was new—they named twenty-five barons to watch the king, and John agreed that they might coerce him if he broke faith. Never before had a king of England fallen so low

as to admit that his subjects might lawfully take up arms against him.

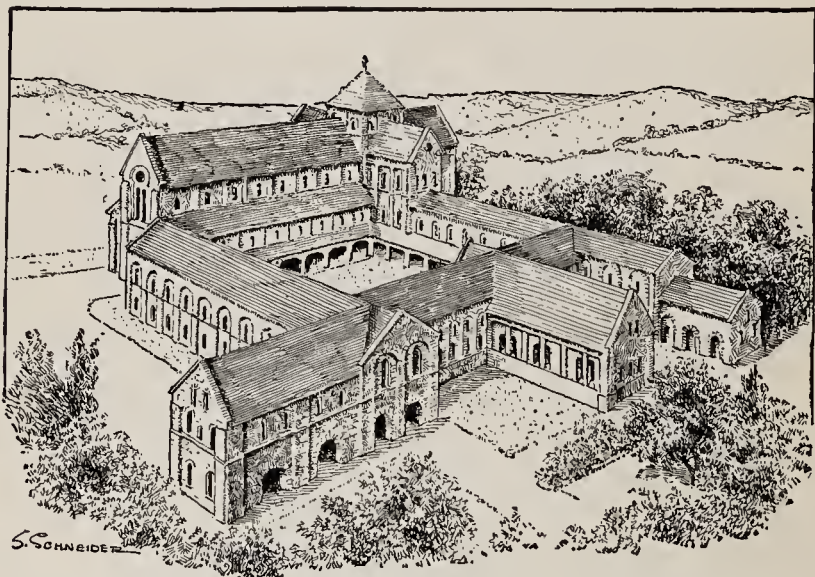
John Repudiates the Charter.—In due course John violated the Charter. The Pope declared it null and void, because his consent, as John's feudal lord, had not been given. He summoned Langton to Rome to give an account of his conduct. The victory for the Charter seemed futile. John attacked the barons, won some successes, and committed many outrages. Then the barons looked round for a leader and offered the crown to Louis, son of Philip of France. Louis came readily enough, showed himself a good soldier, and was in a fair way to win England. But, fortunately, at this crisis John died, possibly of poison, as in Shakespeare's play. His vices had united England against him. His death reunited her in favour of his son, Henry, and against the foreign leader. The forces of Louis soon met with severe reverses. The loyalists were ably led by a man of high character, William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, regent for the infant king; and Louis, seeing that the nation was on the side of the young Henry, wisely made terms and retired to France.

The reign of the king of England who had less desire to serve his people than any other of her rulers, is the most momentous in the history of English liberty. Earlier charters had outlined the nation's rights. Now, under a king whom no one could trust, these had been clearly defined in words. John was not the last of the kings of England who tried to play the tyrant, but, after him, such rulers could be brought face to face with a solemn contract and forced to reaffirm its pledges. From age to age a deeper meaning was read into the Charter and it became what the great Chatham called it—"The Bible of the English Constitution."

5. SOCIAL CHANGES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The Monastery in Mediæval Life.—The change in the

spirit of the nation, which made possible union against a bad king, marks only one tendency of the time. The first quarter of the thirteenth century—the wonderful thirteenth century as it has been called—shows changes in religion not less than in politics. We find a revolt against the older monastic system. The monastery, perhaps the most notable



NORMAN MONASTERY

Conjectural restoration of Kirkstall Abbey as in 1190. The buildings surround the cloister, the scene of the labours of the monks, with the great church bordering one side

institution of the Middle Ages, was organized on the principle of life in common. Its members met in the church at least six or seven times a day for prayer; they took their meals, they shared their employments together; daily in the chapter-house they confessed their faults in one another's presence and underwent penance. A well-regulated monastery was a scene of busy industry. Its head, the abbot, was occupied with the rule not merely of the monks under him, but also with the property of the house, consisting perhaps of a dozen manors. An abbey

might have as many occupants as a large college of our own day. To each monk was assigned his task; he taught in the monastery school, or worked in the garden, or wrote the precious chronicles which are our chief sources of information for the life of mediæval England. The monastery often had a considerable body of lay work-



CARTHUSIAN MONK

He wears a white robe
with cowl



BENEDICTINE MONK

He wears a black robe and is writing a chronicle
in the cloister of the Monastery

astery had its own excitements. There might be lawsuits with the bishop in regard to his claim to regulate the monastery. Towns grew up on monastery lands, and then there were dues to be collected and rights to be defined.

men—millers, shoemakers, carpenters, tailors, and blacksmiths—and it spent vast revenues upon building.

Life in the mon-

There were appeals, sometimes to the king, sometimes to Rome. The monks journeyed far on the business of the convent, and they received in their houses many travelers, from whom they heard much of the world's doings. Life in the monastery was thus often far removed from the quiet that devotees may have wished. The claims of the world were sometimes too fully recognized. Some abbots lived in great state, took part in worldly ambitions and amusements, and neglected their religious duties. From time to time reformers attacked the prevailing abuses and founded new orders of monks to enforce a stricter rule. The thirteenth century brought a profound change.

The Mendicant Orders.—The aim of the monk was to live apart from the world. Yet in that world on which he turned his back there was much that might be done. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, busy towns were growing up, with their problems of crime, poverty, and disease, requiring the devotion of Christian service, and men arose to grapple with these needs. The most famous of the reformers of the age is an Italian of a sweet and tender spirit, Francis of Assisi (1182-1226). His aim was to act as Christ had acted, to go about doing good among the sick and needy. In order to keep his followers in touch with the poor, he provided that they should remain beggars, —mendicants, dependent upon charity for their daily bread, as they went about preaching and serving the people. Another leader of similar spirit arose at the same time. When heretics, known as Albigenses, became numerous in southern France and northern Italy, Dominic (1170-1221), a Spaniard, went among them in the hope of winning them back by kindly instruction. If Francis pitied the suffering, Dominic pitied the ignorant. Even when Pope Innocent III proclaimed an armed crusade against the Albigenses, Dominic continued his gentler work of teaching. In time he founded the order of Dominicans, and Francis that of Franciscans. The two

orders began to work in England soon after the signing of the Charter, the Dominicans in 1221, the Franciscans in 1224.

The Friars in England.—Unlike the monks, who preferred the retirement of the country, the friars (*frères*, brothers) dwelt in the poorest quarters of the towns. There was much to be done. The townsmen of that day would not permit the needy and the neglected, who had not secured the rights of citizens, to dwell within the town. In consequence, many people lived in sordid misery outside the gates—lepers suffering from the loathsome disease of leprosy, so common then, and beggars, who had come to the town in the hope of picking up a bare living as best they might. Few cared for these neglected poor, until the friars came. England had a harsh climate, as compared with that of their sunny home-land. Yet even in winter only the sick and infirm friars wore shoes, and the footsteps of the others were sometimes stained by blood, as they picked their way with naked feet along the frozen roads. In spite of hardships they were cheerful and joyous. The poor welcomed them, and it was not long before there were many friars in England, rebuking by their active service the isolation of the monks. The Dominicans were known as Black Friars, the Franciscans as Grey Friars—names due to the garb which they wore.

The Rise of the Universities.—The friars taught clearly man's duty to his fellow-man. He owed, also, a duty to himself—that of training his own mind. That the age was ready to take to heart this other great truth, the rise of the universities shows. They were a natural growth from the conditions of the time. Since books were dear, those wishing to learn were obliged to find some living teacher. Such a central place as Paris had many teachers and many students. The teachers at Paris associated themselves in a society and laid down rules under which new masters might get leave to teach. This society they called by the name university (*universitas*), which means only a corpor-

ation or guild. In some places the students formed a university, or union, and in this way combined to control prices for rooms, books, and also the fees charged by the professors. The word university came to mean a body which regulated studies at a seat of learning. Oxford had been for centuries a place to which many came to study before it definitely took rank, about 1180, as a university. Henry II was engaged in one of his numerous wars with the French king, and at this time he summoned home all Englishmen studying at Paris. Many of them went to Oxford, where there were schools already important. This was the beginning of the University of Oxford. The University of Cambridge appeared later. Its origin was due to a migration of students from Oxford during the bad days of John's rule, in the year 1208.

The Rise of Colleges.—In the English universities students multiplied rapidly. Many of them were mere boys, and they lived not, as now, in stately colleges, but in bare and desolate lodgings, without the commonest comforts of modern life. In the evenings the students, ripe for strife and violence, flocked into the narrow streets. Those of high rank sometimes had with them quarrelsome retainers, and no doubt old local jealousies and rivalries were often fought out in these Oxford brawls. When the friars went to Oxford, in 1221, they lived in their own house under strict rules. The advantages of this mode of life were soon apparent, and Oxford, accordingly, soon established colleges. They were, at first, houses founded by a bishop, or other pious donor, to shelter a limited number of needy students under rather strict rules. Teaching was left to the masters in the university. But in both these respects in course of time a change took place. Rich as well as poor went to live in the colleges, and it became necessary to employ teachers to give such lectures as were needed. The colleges acquired much property, and it was not long before both Oxford and Cambridge were adorned by some of the noble structures which still endure.

The Courses of Study.—Each student was attached to a master, who directed his studies and was also his protector. At lectures the master sat in his chair, and the students stood or sat on the straw-strewn floor. At the head of the university was the chancellor, to whom the students were responsible for their conduct. He held his court and had his prison for law-breakers. Sometimes the town authorities disputed his powers, which were independent of theirs, and collisions between “town” and “gown” often resulted in bloodshed. A student admitted to the university signed the *matricula*, or roll, and was known as a *baccalaureus*, a word which means an apprentice to a guild. The goal of study was the master’s degree. Barren enough were the studies at first. The “seven liberal arts” consisted of the Trivium (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic), and the Quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music); and all secular knowledge was classified under these heads. Theology was less studied than we should perhaps suppose. It was the most advanced course, and the right to teach it was carefully guarded. The science of the time was, of course, crude. Roger Bacon (1214?-1294) was a friar who taught at Oxford while the English were trying to check the many abuses under Henry III, the weak successor of John. Theology, mathematics, music, chemistry, medicine, logic, Arabic, Hebrew, and Greek came within the range of his all-devouring curiosity. He was not free from the superstition of his time, but he was truly great in this, that he taught men to study nature and her laws and to believe more in knowledge and less in magic.

We find the stern realities of politics in the grim and resolute men who forced their will on John. Not less real, however, is the working of the gentler spirit which made St. Francis pity the poor and Roger Bacon, his follower, spend laborious years in pondering God’s ways in nature.

CHAPTER V

THE RISE OF THE COMMONS

1. THE WORK OF SIMON DE MONTFORT

Henry III, 1216–1272.—In the little Henry III, England, for the first time since the Norman Conquest, had a child as king. Usually in an unsettled age, when the sovereign is incapable himself of directing the government, the state suffers from the struggle of ambitious men for power. But the youth of Henry III proved a real benefit; though the nation was divided by John's crimes, it could unite round his innocent son. The regent, William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, was a high-minded man, whose influence on the young king was good. Henry grew up to be pure in life, a tender husband and father, refined in taste, a lover of books and of art. He was devout and a builder of churches; it was he who replaced the Westminster Abbey of Edward the Confessor by the present noble structure. But Henry was, none the less, a bad king. He was headstrong and passionate; he had little insight, and designing foreigners used him for their own profit. English kings were still, we must remember, magnates in France, as rulers of Aquitaine, and there Henry spent so much time that he became really half foreign. He had no understanding of the English people, and his court, with French manners and speech, was almost an alien court in England.

Foreign Influence Under Henry III.—When William Marshall died in 1219, his power fell into less worthy hands. At last, in 1227, Henry, at the age of nineteen, declared that henceforth he should himself rule. He was ill-fitted for the task. The church took seriously John's oath to be its vassal, and Henry renewed the vow to obey and to pay tribute. England seemed to have vast wealth.

"London," Henry said, "has a surfeit of riches; it is an exhaustless well," and he was quite willing that some of this wealth should go to foreigners. In 1236 he married a foreign princess, Eleanor of Provence. Soon her relatives flocked to England. Boniface, her uncle, a man who probably knew hardly a word of the language of the English people, was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and dozens of other foreigners secured good posts. What Eleanor did for her relatives, the Pope did for his clergy. England was his vassal state, Henry had gone into debt to him, and it was, therefore, natural that swarthy Italians with strange foreign names, men who, in some cases, never put foot in England, should be given the best offices in the English church. They were appointed literally by the hundred, and in 1240 the demand was made that three hundred more should be taken care of before anything went to Englishmen. Foreigners drew from England three times the revenue of the king.

The Exactions of Henry III.—The English had never been a meek-spirited people, and now they resented the intrusion of foreigners and the loss of good things which they desired for themselves. Moreover, Henry was reckless and extravagant. He spent great sums in an attempt to regain Normandy and in a mad effort to put his son, Edmund, on the throne of Sicily. To get the money, he levied unlawful taxes. His people demanded that he should obey the Charter. He signed it repeatedly, but as often violated its terms. Under him no one's property was safe. He would visit an abbey, accept its hospitality, and then carry off the valuables which he found there. He took the crusaders' vow repeatedly and taxed the clergy for crusades never carried out. Even the foreign Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, with other ecclesiastics, made a dramatic protest. In a solemn service at London they suddenly dashed lighted candles to the ground, and prayed, amidst the smoke, that all violating the Charter might likewise be extinguished. Henry was impressed and promised by the

help of God and as a man, a Christian, a knight, and a crowned and anointed king, to be true to the Charter. Yet soon again he was carrying on the old illegal tyranny and no pledge could bind him.

Simon de Montfort.—The English only needed a leader to make petty tyranny like that of Henry impossible. The Barons met it by strong protests. In 1244 the Great Council demanded the right to appoint the king's ministers. Year by year the demand was renewed, and the nation drifted slowly into civil war. Simon de Montfort became the champion of English liberties. He was of Norman stock. His father, a noble of Aquitaine, had shown great religious zeal in hunting down the heretics, called Albigenses, who rose in southern France early in the century. The younger Simon, a foreigner by birth, secured through his mother the title and lands of the earldom of Leicester. Soon after he settled in England, he married Henry III's sister, Eleanor. At first the English barons resented the advancement of a foreigner, but by sheer force of character Simon became in time their leader. He was clear-sighted, devout, a man of unchanging purpose.

Foreigner though he was, Simon read the need of England better than any one else. She was governed by a king, and the only check on his power was the Great Council, in theory composed of all the king's tenants-in-chief, but, in fact, consisting of only the chief barons and bishops. The great mass of those on whom the burdens of the state rested, the smaller land-holders and the merchants, had no voice in the nation's affairs. The glory of Simon de Montfort is in having read the spirit of the time and in being the first to urge, with any effect, that political power should be shared with the men not noble, with the Commons, the common people. Those whom Simon had in view are what we call the middle class. Not for many centuries did any one claim that mechanics and labourers should have a voice in the government. What designs were working in Simon's deep mind when he began to champion the cause of

the people, we do not know. Some whispered that he aimed at making himself king, but this is hardly likely. In any case he appealed to the people, and they loved him as no other leader in that age was loved.

The Provisions of Oxford, 1258.—By 1258 the majority of the barons had made up their minds that power must be taken out of the hands of the king. The lesser tenants-in-chief had the right to attend the Great Council, which we may now call the Parliament. They rarely did so, but the word went out that they should rally to a meeting called at Oxford. To this place now came armed, resolute, and angry men, ready for civil war if it must come. They adopted a famous measure, "The Provisions of Oxford," which shows that they were in deadly earnest. It declared that foreigners must be expelled from England, and that government must be taken out of the hands of the king and vested in various committees composed of barons. The king's friends jeered at this assembly as the "Mad Parliament," because so many untried men came to it and it was so frantically in earnest. But, none the less, the king was forced to yield. He swore to observe the Provisions of Oxford and in doing so to hand over his power to the barons. Simon de Montfort took control of the government, the great offices went to his friends, and soon the foreigners in England were hurrying to the seaports to get out of the country where they were hated. The resolve was now clear that England's riches should go to the English.

The Mise of Amiens, 1264.—Not yet, however, had the struggle ended. For a few years there was quiet. The young Edward, heir to the throne, was inevitably Simon's enemy. None the less was he his pupil, trained in his principles and taught to be, like Simon, a great soldier. Edward was convinced that the barons were, in the main, right, and tried to induce the king, his father, to remove the grievances and to observe the Provisions of Oxford. But Henry was determined to get back his lost power, and in this he was, in the end, helped by some of Simon's allies,

who had come to think the great leader too masterful. At last both sides agreed to take the judgment of Louis IX of France as to the power which should be left in the hands of the king. Louis was a good man, a saint indeed, but he could not think that a king, the anointed of God, should be restrained, and his decision, the *Mise*, or settlement, of Amiens (1264), was that the Provisions of Oxford were null and void, and that Henry should name his own ministers.

The Commons Summoned to Parliament, 1265.—Louis went too far. Simon would not accept the judgment and civil war broke out. At first it went badly with the king. Simon defeated his forces with great slaughter at Lewes, and took both him and the young Edward prisoner. Then, to show that the nation was with him, he called its representatives, in 1265, to meet in a Parliament. Of the barons, only Simon's friends came. But the middle class, the lesser men, trooped to the gathering to discuss the nation's affairs. Each shire was asked to elect two knights; the lower clergy elected members to represent them and to sit side by side with mitred bishops; and, most unusual of all, two men came from each town, traders, whom baron and bishop alike looked down upon. On special occasions, at any rate, all sat, it appears, in one great assembly, barons and bishops side by side with knights and traders. It was a bold stroke to bring together such varied elements, a stroke momentous for England and for mankind, for this was the beginning of the system of representative government which has spread from England over all the world.

Defeat of Simon, 1265.—At first the cause of Simon, like most great causes, suffered defeat. In Simon's captive, the king's son, Edward, there was hope of good rule in the old way. He was now a wise, strong man. Just after the Parliament of 1265, he escaped from Simon's control, rallied his forces, and met Simon in a great battle at Evesham. The fight was bitter and no quarter was shown. On that fatal field Simon was defeated and slain, and his body was barbarously hacked to pieces. Becket had fought

a king, and so, too, had Langton. They were bishops. The first layman to lead the nation in checking the king was Simon de Montfort. His memory lingered long and the people spoke of him as Saint Simon. He had seemed to fail, but in reality victory remained with his cause. The victorious Edward was wise. The foreigners did not come back. The misuse of the king's power ceased. Those who had fought on the side of Simon were readily forgiven. And all this happened because no longer the weak Henry, but his able son, was in control. Edward was master, and he had the genius to see that Simon had been right.

By 1270 so peaceful was England that Edward went off on a crusade to the East, and when Henry III died in 1272, the new king's sway remained secure, though not until after two years did he return to assume control.

2. THE REFORMS OF EDWARD I

Edward I, 1272-1307.—In Edward I England had a ruler, able and earnest, who understood the work he had to do and would not spare himself in doing it. Tall, straight, slim, and deep-chested, Edward was a model of manly vigour. All through life he took delight in feats of arms, and few equalled him in tilt and tournament. Nothing could daunt his spirit. On the morning of the battle of Falkirk, fought in later years, his horse kicked him and broke two of his ribs; yet, though the pain must have been excruciating, he rode into battle, and was in the saddle the whole day. Edward was the first king since the Conquest who could claim to be a thorough-going Englishman. He had the merits and defects of his race and time. He loved truth and justice. He was honest, and his motto, "Keep Faith," was for him no empty phrase. Yet his vision and his sympathies were narrow. The warrior-king, who prided himself on his chivalry, was generous only to persons of rank; he could order his followers to tear an eye and an ear from a plebeian youth who had crossed his path inopportunely. Though he gave wider liberties to the people, he

did not know their minds; nor could he see why Welsh and Scots should not be willing to accept him, an alien with the sword in his hand, as their true and lawful ruler. Still Edward was a good man and a great king. He toiled hard to bring about better and juster rule in England. Amid these labours he treasured in his heart the old dream which for two centuries had haunted Europe, of winning back the Holy Land from the unbeliever. 'The crusading movement was dead, and Edward was now almost alone in still clinging to its hopes when little of glory was to be won. "Though my soldiers and my countrymen desert me," he had said, when still a young man, "I will go alone to Acre with Fowin, my groom, and keep to the death my word and my oath." He went, as we know, and nearly perished in the East.

The Need of Reform in the Laws.—Edward showed himself always a great soldier, but he was also a great lawyer. Henry II had begun, in his rough age, a reform of the laws. Since his day there had been no strong ruler who could complete the work, until had come this king, deep in whose soul, as in that of his great-grandfather, was a love of order and justice. When Edward ascended the throne, the written laws of England could be read through in half an hour; they consisted of the Great Charter and three or four other documents. There were no formal Acts of Parliament, such as to-day fill many volumes. Ancient custom settled the relations of one man to another, and the courts enforced these ancient customs as binding; they were, in fact, what is known as the Common Law.

Some better system was needed, for England was a disorderly country. Crime was rife and was punished harshly. The theft of cattle and of horses was then a common offence and was usually punished by hanging. Baser crimes incurred even heavier punishment. The man guilty of issuing spurious coins was torn to pieces by horses. So common was the death penalty that the gallows and the gibbet, with their ghastly trappings, were found on nearly every large estate. When the veil is lifted from a village

in that age, we get a picture that staggers us. Almost by accident, the records of the Hundred of North Erpingham for the year 1285 are still preserved. From them we learn that in one year, within a radius of twelve miles, eight men and four women were murdered, and three men and two women were killed in fatal frays. A little earlier the people of this district had seen eleven persons hanged; one man, for tampering with the king's coin, was torn to pieces by horses. The women of the time were as savage as the men. In this hopeless and wretched society self-destruction was common; five persons committed suicide in a single year, and two of them were women.

Judicial Reforms.—In France and other lands reform of the laws was going on. Change was in the air and Edward studied anxiously the needs of England. Though his mind was not original or creative, it was clear and practical, and he brought to a definite head many changes which had been proceeding slowly. He made extensive judicial reforms. Under Henry I the King's Court (*Curia Regis*) had still been only a committee of the Great Council, which transacted every kind of business reserved for the King's own judgment. Henry II had increased its work by sending judges into all parts of the kingdom (p. 82). Now Edward I organized its duties more effectively. He completed its division into three branches. The Court of Exchequer dealt with matters affecting the king's revenues, the Court of King's Bench with those in which persons were accused of crime or with matters touching the king's rights, while the Court of Common Pleas dealt with cases in which Englishman brought suit against Englishman. Already we find the beginnings of an additional court destined to play a great part in English history. The king's chancellor, or secretary, sometimes considered special cases where the letter of the law did not strictly apply, and in time this work was handed over to a regular Court of Chancery, which gave judgment on the basis not merely of law but also of equity.

Reform of the Laws.—Edward's greatest work, however, was in changing the law to meet the needs of the times. The merchants were a growing class, and he made laws which aided them to punish fraud and to force their debtors to pay. Lawless men sometimes broke into towns, set fire to the houses, and carried on pillage during the confusion; now Edward checked this by requiring towns to close their gates at nightfall, and to oblige all strangers to give an account of themselves. Robbers infested the forests, still of immense extent, and robbed passing travellers; so Edward required that the land should be kept clear for two hundred feet on each side of the public highways, thus giving travellers the protection of open ground. Henry II had attacked robber barons in their huge castles; to Edward I fell the equally severe task of hunting down lesser outlaws, who dared not defy the king, but who were ready to attack the weak wherever found.

Beginning with the great Statute of Westminster the First, in 1275, almost a new code of law in itself, Edward plodded on year after year, with the aid of learned lawyers; and the result of his efforts was the laying of the basis of the laws of England as they still endure. The law of entail, by which the owner of a landed estate has only an interest for life and cannot sell it, is due to him; it has had a great effect in keeping estates in the same family for generations. Edward did not like to see the land pass into the hands of the clergy, but wished men to hold it who could go to war when called upon, and so he passed the Statute of Mortmain, in 1279, forbidding corporations like the church, which had only a "dead hand" (*morte main*), and could not fight, to acquire more land. Edward checked barons as well as churchmen. Up to this time, when a land-owner parted with land, the new owner became his vassal, owing him military service and other duties. The statute, *Quia Emptores* (1290), ended this by requiring the new owner to render such service, not to the man from whom he had obtained his land, but to the person who had made the

original grant, in most cases the king. This weakened the great land-owners, for now, when once they parted with land, they had no rights over the new holder such as they had formerly enjoyed. A full account of Edward's laws would fill many pages. Their general effect was to begin a new era.

Edward's Taxation.—Edward was always hard pressed for money, for, as we shall see, he waged many expensive wars. The Great Charter had asserted the principle that the king might not impose new taxes without the consent of the Great Council (p. 90). One class in the state, the clergy, declared that only their master, the Pope, might tax them, and that for the Great Council or the king to take their money was to seize what belonged to God. Edward met this objection by saying that, since the clergy would not pay to support the state, they should not be protected by its laws; if any one robbed or assaulted them, they should have no right to appeal to his courts. His attitude made the clergy see that they must do his bidding.

The Model Parliament, 1295.—In the end Edward found it wise to call together all whom he designed to tax. He adopted the maxim that "what concerns all must be approved by all," and we find him doing what Simon de Montfort had shown him how to do, calling all classes, including the common people, to his councils. In 1295 he held what is called the Model Parliament. All classes were summoned—the great men and also the lesser men, two knights from each shire, two traders from each town, and priests to represent the lower clergy. We are not quite sure, but it seems that all sat as one body, and henceforth it was the representatives of the whole nation who voted Edward's taxes and passed his laws. The rights now given to the Commons were never, and could never be, withdrawn. At a later time this was made doubly sure, when in 1322 Edward's successor issued a precise declaration that the Commons must always continue to have a voice in taxation and legislation. Not long after, in the reign of Edward III,

the principle of having two chambers was finally established. The great barons and the higher clergy sat apart from the Commons and became the House of Lords; while the lesser barons, knights, and merchants sat, after 1341, in what was called the House of Commons. The division had results of which the Lords did not dream. It meant that the Commons must give their separate consent to all measures. After 1341, indeed, though the Lords might protest, the Commons equalled them in authority. Edward I laid the basis of modern English law; but he did a greater work still—he brought into being, in its final form, the Parliament which speaks for all classes in the state, because in it all classes are represented. It was under Edward that the power of the people became real.

The Expulsion of the Jews, 1290.—Sometimes Edward was ruthless and cruel. We find him such in his expulsion of the Jews. They were aliens in race and religion. Their chief trade was money-lending, and, in days when the interest on loans ranged from thirty to sixty per cent., prudent Jews soon grew rich. In the towns they lived in a special quarter known as the Jewry, or the Ghetto. The law forbade them to hold land, and they were looked upon as mere chattels of the king. They were hated by the people, not only on account of their prosperity, but also because they would not accept the Christian faith. In 1290 the final blow fell. No act of Edward's was more popular with the people and clergy than the driving out of the Jews. They might take with them only such property as they could carry; all else went to the king. There must have been terrible scenes when sixteen thousand Jews were driven from their homes. Some of the ships which carried them were scuttled, so that the ship-loads of Jews should be drowned. One ship's master is said to have landed a company of Jews on a sand-bar covered by the sea at high-tide, and to have told them that they might call on a new Moses to save them from the sea. For hundreds of years no Jew was allowed to live in England.

3. THE CONQUESTS OF EDWARD I

The Conquest of Wales, 1284.—So masterful a man as Edward was likely to have trouble with his neighbours. In Wales lived the descendants of the ancient Britons, who had been driven back by the English (p. 21). Through long centuries they had kept a kind of independence, but had still been obliged to bend the knee to England. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, Harold, soon himself to be king, had forced the ruler of Wales to acknowledge that he was the vassal of the king of England. This vassalage the Welsh hated as in earlier times they had hated the English mastery of Britain, and every king since Edward the Confessor had found it hard to make good his overlordship. The Welsh recalled the days when they had held all England, and were resolved never to yield to the invading Teuton. Civil war, under Henry III, had made the Welsh think that England was weak and the day of deliverance near. So when Edward demanded that Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, should take the oath of vassalage, he was met by an unbending refusal.

Edward waited for a time, but at last he took decisive action and invaded Wales. Llewellyn fell in battle. His brother, David, was, however, captured. To Edward treason was the most terrible of crimes, and David was punished as a traitor to his lawful king. He was hanged until nearly dead and then cut down. After further unspeakable tortures had been inflicted upon him, he was finally beheaded. It was further provided that his head should be exposed in some public place and that the four quarters of his body should be sent to as many different towns of the kingdom, as a terrible warning to others. It was Edward who began these awful tortures of traitors, and other rulers continued them. He was pitiless to a proud but backward people fighting for national rights. In 1284 he annexed Wales to England, and though it was long before the English mastered the whole country, its ancient liberty was lost for

ever. He divided Wales into shires, after the English model. It happened that his son, Edward, was born in Wales, and he granted him the title of Prince of Wales, borne by the dead Llewellyn. Since that time this rank has usually been given to the heir to the English crown.

The Causes of the First Conquest of Scotland.—In the latter half of his reign, Edward was involved in strife with Scotland, destined in the end to bring deep humiliation upon England. Earlier English kings had been able, at times, to force the Scottish kings to acknowledge them as overlords. William the Conqueror had obliged Malcolm Canmore to do this. Then a later king of Scots, William the Lion, sided with the barons against Henry II and was captured and carried prisoner to Normandy, where Henry made him take a solemn oath of vassalage to himself (p. 81). Then Richard I, hard pressed for money, sold back to William the Lion the rights his father had gained (p. 85). This made Scotland again wholly free of England, and among her people the resolve to remain so became a national passion. To a masterful king such as Edward I, however, a plan to unite the whole island under one rule was attractive, and fortune seemed to favour his design. In 1286 the last descendant of William the Lion was a little princess, Margaret, a sickly child, three years old, daughter of Eric, king of Norway. If she should marry Edward's son, a peaceful union of the two crowns would follow. The project found favour in Scotland, but only after Edward had pledged himself that Scotland should remain free and independent. Edward sent to Norway a stately ship to bring home the infant bride, but the rough North Sea baulked a wise plan; on the voyage the poor child died of sea-sickness.

Baliol, King of Scotland, 1292.—Stormy times followed in Scotland. Many persons aspired to the throne, but only three of them had any real claim, and every one of these three, Baliol, Bruce, and Hastings, held an English baronage. What more natural than that, to prevent civil war,

the claimants should agree to refer the dispute to Edward. Yet it was a dangerous thing to do, for Edward was willing to act as arbiter only if given the legal right, as supreme lord, to supervise Scottish affairs. The Scottish nobles, with civil war as the alternative, had to make this hard concession, which was bitterly resented by the Scottish people. Edward did the work of inquiry with great care. For more than a year a special court, composed largely of Scots, examined the evidence, and the decision was that the throne should go to Baliol. In 1292 he was crowned and did homage to Edward as his overlord.

Edward Annexes Scotland, 1296.—For a time there was peace. The Scots found, however, that Edward meant to have a real voice in their affairs. He was relentless in insisting that Baliol should render to him all the services that a vassal owed to his lord. He encouraged appeals from Scotland to his courts in London. He sent English priests into Scottish parishes. Soon the pride of the Scots was aroused, and at last, in 1296, Baliol defiantly declared that he was no longer Edward's vassal. Edward's wrath blazed forth at what he chose to regard as treason. He took Berwick by storm and butchered eight thousand of its defenders, burning some of them alive. Town after town, fearing the awful fate of Berwick, yielded to Edward; and in three months Baliol was his prisoner and Scotland at his feet. He declared that Baliol had forfeited the crown, that it reverted to him as overlord, and that now he himself was lawful king of Scotland. For a Scot to lift a hand against him would mean to incur the penalties of treason.

Second Conquest of Scotland, 1298.—Edward's rapid success had cowed the Scottish nobles, but a Scottish knight, Sir William Wallace, dared to oppose him. In 1297 he attacked the English boldly. Wallace was a brave leader, but he had not the skill to cope with the greatest soldier of the age. In 1298 Edward, old and white-haired, met him in battle. Edward had taught the English to use the long-

bow, which, drawn by a strong arm, sent an arrow with terrific force. These arrows, poured into Wallace's lines at Falkirk, wrought deadly havoc and caused the loss of twenty thousand Scots. A second time Edward had conquered Scotland. Wallace fled, but long afterwards was taken and executed for treason to a king whom he had never acknowledged. In 1305 Edward annexed Scotland to England as he had annexed Wales.

Third Conquest of Scotland, 1306-7.—Edward was now near his end, and his last days were gloomy. His wife, Eleanor, had died in 1290; he mourned her deeply and was embittered by her loss. About the same time others of his close friends and helpers also died. Just when the trouble in Scotland was acute, war broke out with France. As lord of Aquitaine, Edward was the vassal of Philip IV of France. But the English and the French were rarely at peace. They fought when they met on the sea or anywhere else. At length, after some outrage by the English, Philip summoned Edward to Paris, as France's vassal, to stand his trial. We can imagine the wrath of Edward at such a summons. Philip made an alliance with the Scots—that alliance to check England which was to last for three hundred years. To pay the cost of the war with France, Edward laid on his people taxes so heavy that he drove them almost into revolt. He had to face a world of difficulties, and the crowning one came when the Scots found a great national leader in Robert Bruce, grandson of the claimant of 1291. In open defiance of Edward, Bruce was crowned in 1306. Edward was now furious. Again his armies overran Scotland. Bruce fled, and those of his friends who fell into Edward's hands perished as traitors. But Edward's days were numbered, and he died in 1307, while leading his army to complete the third conquest of Scotland. So relentless was he that he would have pursued his enemy even after death, for he ordered that his body should be carried at the head of the English host until Scotland should be conquered.

4. THE FALL OF EDWARD II

Edward II, 1307–1327.—The change from such a strong ruler as Edward I to his son, the foolish and indolent Edward II, was to prove disastrous to England. From the outset Edward II treated his realm as his private property, to be ruled as he might see fit. He ignored the rights both of the common people and of the great nobles, and chose as his chief adviser Piers, or Peter, Gaveston, a knight from his continental realm of Aquitaine. This man of humble rank he put high in authority over the greatest in the land. "Brother Peter," as Edward fondly called him, became the real ruler of England, the favourite of a weak master. Though Edward II had the tall, strong frame of his father, he lacked his courage and proved a craven in battle. He delighted in the pomp of kingship, in its extravagant and frivolous amusements. He was fond of sports, of horses and dogs, and of the society of low-born people. Much of the folly of his life was due to habitual and excessive drinking. He was skilful at smith's work, at digging a trench, or thatching a roof, but was content to be known as the "illiterate king," and took his coronation oath in the French provided for the unlearned, not in the original Latin. The oath itself bears evidence of the changed spirit of England, for it admits the new rights of the Commons.

The Rule of the "Lords Ordainers."—Edward's reign was disastrous from the beginning. He had no force of character to carry out the stern resolve of his father to make Scotland a vassal state, and did not heed the wish of Edward I that his bones might be carried at the head of the English host until Bruce was crushed. Instead, Edward II buried his father at Westminster, and left the campaign in such weak hands that ere long Bruce was master of Scotland. In England, too, matters went from bad to worse. Edward's great barons, men who had, in some cases, royal blood in their veins, resented the arrogance of the upstart Gaveston. Sure of the king's support,

the favourite jeered at them, and when they met him in tilt and tournament, he was man enough to unhorse their best riders. At last the barons resolved to take power out of the hands of Edward. Their leader was a magnate with vast estates and of royal lineage, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. He aspired to be a Simon de Montfort, but was only a weak and debased imitation of that great man. In 1310 the barons obliged Edward to consent that twenty-one "Lords Ordainers" should control the state, much as did those named by Montfort's "Provisions of Oxford" (p. 101). They forced Gaveston to leave England. When he came back in 1312, in violation of the terms to which Edward had agreed, some of the barons made a grim resolve to end the trouble for ever. They seized Gaveston and beheaded him without trial—a deed of blood soon to be followed by many others of like character. Edward's grief at the loss of his favourite was real and deep, but for the time he was forced to submit to the rule of Thomas of Lancaster, who was able to dictate his own terms.

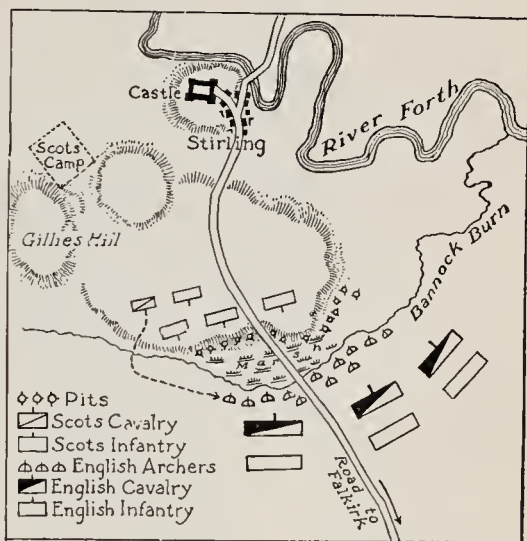
The Battle of Bannockburn, 1314.—Perhaps to make some diversion in his own favour, Edward now took up eagerly the war with Scotland and led a great army into that country. Bruce, the brave, wary, experienced king of the Scots, had pressed the English so hard that the stronghold of Stirling was the only place which they still held in Scotland. Even Stirling was in danger, for Bruce was besieging it closely. The aim of the English was to break through Bruce's force and relieve Stirling—a difficult thing to attempt against so skilful a leader. Edward collected his large force at Berwick, and then set out in such furious haste to meet the foe that he gave his army little time for food or sleep.

Bruce lay near Stirling, with the little stream known as Bannockburn on his front. His force was smaller than that of the English, but it was a real army under a great leader, while the English were little more than a badly led mob. Before his tired and dispirited men had had

time to rest, Edward gave the order to attack, and the issue was certain from the first. A part of the English, as they advanced, fell into concealed pits dug in front of the Scottish lines, and they never recovered from the confusion thus caused. In spite of this, some of the English fought well. Many fled, however, without striking a blow. Edward himself rode off in such panic and fear that he did not draw rein until he was far away at Dunbar. The slaughter of the English was fearful; it was the most crushing defeat that an English army had met with since Hastings. Time was to show that Bannockburn really ended any doubt that Scotland should be an independent kingdom. Before long Bruce became the undisputed

king of Scotland. It was, indeed, well that England should fail. The Scots had the right to be free, and a conquered and enslaved Scotland would also have retarded the growth of liberty in England. But it was not well that England should fail through the rashness and cowardice of a foolish king.

The Fall of Edward II, 1327.—Bannockburn left Edward helpless in England against Thomas of Lancaster, who proved a hard master to the weak king. In time it came about that an English noble, Hugh Despenser, and his son of the same name, were able, with Edward's support, to overthrow Lancaster, who, of royal lineage though he



THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN

was, perished on the block in 1322. The Lords Ordainers were overthrown, and again Edward did everything through favourites. The Despensers secured great grants of land. In their prosperity they were so foolish as to treat with contempt Edward's wife, Isabella, daughter of Philip IV, king of France. To escape their insolence, she made a plea of business in France and went there with her son, Edward. For a time she refused to come back, and in the end, when she did return, it was with an army to overthrow her husband. Then it was seen that Edward's folly had turned not only her but all England against him. The Despensers were quickly taken and executed, and Edward fell a prisoner into his wife's hands. In 1327 Parliament declared him desposed and made his young son king. A few months later the unhappy Edward was murdered. The twenty wretched years of his reign are a prolonged era of misery in the history of the English people. Never before had faction raged with such violence; never before had the penalty of failure in the political strife been speedy death on the scaffold.

CHAPTER VI

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

1. THE OPENING OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

The Overthrow of Mortimer, 1330.—The young Edward III was not yet fifteen years old, and the real rulers were Isabella and Mortimer, a great Welsh noble, who had shared her exile. For three years they ruled in Edward's name, keeping from him all real power. It was natural that a proud young king should resent the bondage in which he was kept, and it ended, in 1330, in a sudden and swift tragedy. By a secret plot Edward caused Mortimer to be seized while in bed at Nottingham Castle, and, after a few days, to be executed as a common criminal. Isabella, disgraced by her connection with him, lived in retirement for the rest of her life.

Edward III, 1327–1377.—Edward III, who thus reached supreme power in England, did not prove a good king. His stately presence, grace, and dignity, his love of pomp, his energy and warrior spirit, fit him to be the hero of the romantic pages of Froissart, a writer of the time. But he had little sense of duty, and spent upon selfish pleasure vast sums which Edward I would certainly have used to lighten the burdens of the nation. He was licentious and cruel, and ready lightly to break his word, or even, king though he was, to take a bribe. In war, though he gained victories, he was rash and trusted foolishly to chance. His wife, Philippa, was a good woman, whose influence proved salutary. After



EDWARD III

her death, in 1369, Edward fell into the hands of vicious self-seekers, and there were scandalous doings at his court.

Defeat of the Scots at Halidon Hill, 1333.—Far-reaching schemes to improve the condition of England did not inspire Edward as they had inspired his grandfather, Edward I. Yet, like that great king, Edward, by plans of foreign conquest, did much to make the English self-confident and to strengthen the national spirit. They still felt the sting of their defeat by the Scots, and bitterly resented the Treaty of Northampton, made in 1328 while Mortimer still possessed power. It recognized the complete independence of Scotland. This treaty was Bruce's last triumph, for he died in 1329. Then the rights of his son, David, over Scotland were disputed by a Baliol, as a Bruce and a Baliol had disputed for Scotland long before. England supported Baliol, and Bannockburn seemed to have been avenged, when, in 1333, at Halidon Hill, English archers struck down the advancing host of Scots and inflicted on them crushing defeat. Edward soon held all Scotland south of the Forth. His success encouraged the English still to cherish the belief that they could conquer Scotland. Clearly enough, however, this belief was unfounded. The English, it is true, defeated the Scots in battle, but such defeat did not crush them. They could always take refuge in the fastnesses of their own land, or, with a little oatmeal for food and hardy ponies for mounts, they could outmarch at pleasure the cumbered English host. Moreover, Scotland had outside help. She was allied with France, and Edward soon found that final victory in Scotland was impossible without first overthrowing the power of France.

The Hundred Years' War, 1338.—Occasions of hostility with France were never difficult to find. As ruler of Aquitaine, Edward was already lord of fertile provinces in southern France—provinces which the king of France needed to round out his own territory, just as, for the same reason, Edward desired Scotland. In time Edward resolved that he would have not only Aquitaine, but all France,

under his sway, and he had a plausible claim to support this design. He declared that he was himself the lawful king of France, for he was grandson of the late king, Philip IV, while the ruling king, Philip VI, was only his nephew. Under the English law of inheritance, Edward's title, derived from his mother, was good enough. But France would not listen to the claim, not merely because only males could, under the French law, transmit the right to reign, but also because the French would not have a king who was a foreigner and an Englishman. Edward pressed his rights, assumed, in the end, the title of king of France, and began, in 1338, that long Hundred Years' War which was to bring untold misery to both nations.

The English Long-bow.—Hitherto England had played



ARCHER AND CROSSBOWMAN

The long-bow, with arrow three feet long, effective at greater range than the cross-bow no part on continental battle-fields. Yet the English soldier now looked with scorn upon the French soldier, and he had

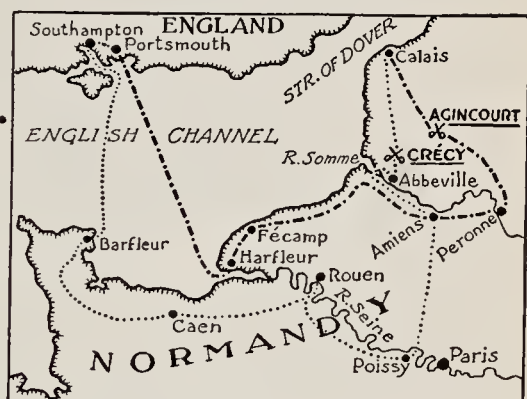
some reason for this feeling. The English had become the expert masters of that most formidable weapon, the long-bow. Edward I had made it the great national weapon, and his people developed amazing strength and skill in its use. The long-bowmen shot a steel-pointed arrow, which could penetrate thick planks of oak and even plate armour; it is on record that an arrow pierced the mail shirt, the mail breeches, the thigh, and the wooden saddle of a rider, and sank deep into his horse's flank. To kill a horse with such a shaft was not difficult. The volley from the long-bow was more rapid than that from the muzzle-loading musket of a later time; it was deadly at a range of two hundred yards or more, and there was no smoke to obscure the archer's aim. With this weapon in his hand the English archer was now a formidable fighter. He was often mounted, and then he was a dangerous rival of the mounted knight. Yet the French still thought that the mounted knight in armour was unconquerable.

Battle of Sluys, 1340.—The French were soon to have rude awakenings. England was strong, not only in her peasantry armed with the long-bow, but also in her seamen, and Edward's first great victory was on the sea. In 1340 he attacked and almost destroyed the French fleet in the Flemish harbour of Sluys. In the days before artillery such fighting involved a hand-to-hand struggle. Usually no quarter was given. It is said that at Sluys twenty-five thousand of the conquered—an incredible number—perished. It is the first great victory in the annals of the English navy, and Edward's people were soon, in their pride of success, calling him "King of the Seas," an early indication of England's claim to naval supremacy.

Battle of Crécy, 1346.—On land the war was long indecisive. Then came a success which showed that England, thought by continental nations to be remote and weak, must be reckoned with as a great military power. In 1346 Edward had advanced to the very gates of Paris. He pillaged as he went, and the sky was lurid with the flames

of burning villages. Yet his army was soon worn out, and he was obliged to retreat northwards. At Crécy, a little north of Amiens, he turned to face his foes. The English chose their position on rising ground and had time to rest before the fight. Their army was in three divisions. In command of that likely to bear the brunt of the fighting, Edward put his son, Edward, a lad of sixteen, afterwards known, from the colour of his armour, as the Black Prince. It was important that the lad should show himself a true knight, able to take his share in the hardest contests.

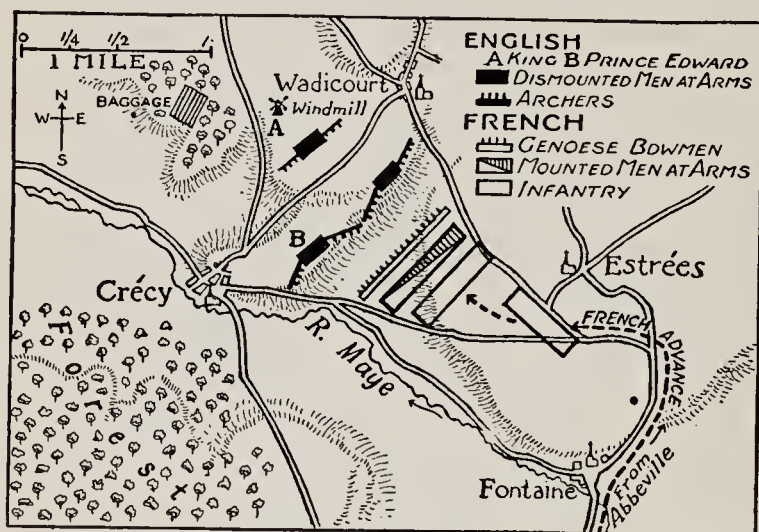
The French, who had pursued the English in their retreat to Crécy, were so certain of victory that their leaders engaged in disputes about the expected spoils. It was late when they reached the foot of the hill at Crécy, and they were daz-



ROUTE OF EDWARD III TO CRÉCY.....
ROUTE OF HENRY V TO AGINCOURT - - - - -

zled by the afternoon sun, which shone in their faces. Yet, confident of success, they decided to attack at once. On the two flanks of the English host on the hill stood the brawny archers from the English villages, masters of their terrible weapon, the long-bow. To reach the foe the French must charge up the hill. Though the declining sun was now bright, there had just been a heavy shower. During the storm the experienced English archers had kept their bow-strings dry; those on the French side, however, foreign men of Genoa with cross-bows for some reason had been unable to do so, and now, when put in the van of the French host to clear the way for the mounted knights, they found their weapons useless. When they shrank back before the English volley,

they were trampled down by the advancing knights who charged up the hill. The English archers shot into the confused mass. They aimed especially at the horses, and soon the hillside was covered with struggling animals. Those of the French who managed to advance farther were struck down mercilessly by English arrows. A few reached the English lines, only to be destroyed by the



THE BATTLE OF CRECY

knights who fought there on foot. Probably fewer than one hundred fell on the side of the victors; of the vanquished about fifteen hundred lords and knights perished, and we shall never know how many thousands more of plebeian blood.

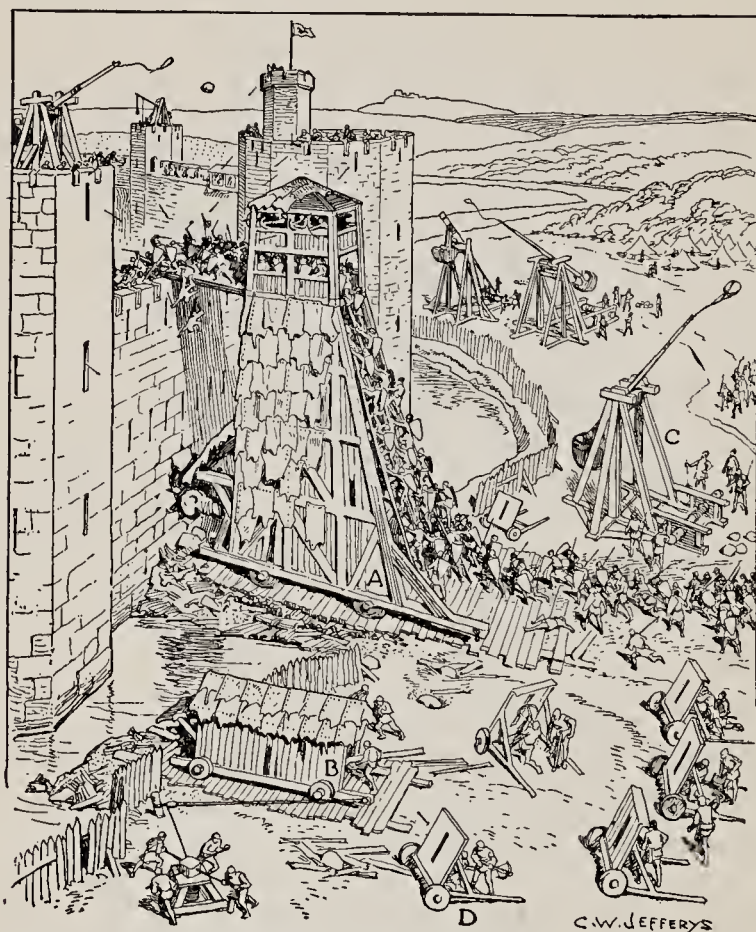
Fall of Calais and Defeat of the Scots at Neville's Cross, 1346.—Crécy taught lessons which France was slow to learn. Armed with the long-bow, the English villager, despite his low rank, had been found more formidable in battle than the mounted knight. To many it now seemed as if Edward III's dreams of conquest might be realized. Two months after Crécy the English defeated King David II of Scotland, son of Robert Bruce, at Neville's Cross near Durham,

and made him prisoner. Both Scotland and France had fallen low before Edward. For many years David Bruce remained Edward's prisoner, and Edward I seemed, indeed, to be avenged, when David, educated in English ways, lent himself to English plans to master Scotland—plans which failed owing to the unconquerable resolve of the Scots to remain free. In France Edward met with greater success. He took Calais, expelled all the inhabitants who refused to recognize him as king, offered free houses to his subjects settling there, and gave to the town trading privileges which soon made it the centre of English commerce with continental Europe. England had made a real beginning of the conquest of France, and her flag continued to wave over Calais for more than two hundred years.

The Black Death, 1348.—In the moment of Edward's triumph, a terrible enemy prostrated all nations alike. The Black Death is supposed to have been brought from eastern seas by Genoese sailors. Its mark was a dark eruption upon the body, and few whom it attacked ever recovered. Persons of all classes and ages, but especially those in the prime of life, fell before this awful plague. It is estimated that during the fourteen months of its terrible ravages London shrank to half its numbers. Villages, manors, and monasteries were alike desolated. We are told that, on one manor, the court had been summoned for a certain day. Before the day came round, eleven out of the sixteen persons concerned in the proceedings had perished. In some of the monasteries the inmates died to a man, and a hundred years later these houses had not recovered their former numbers. So few labourers were left to harvest the crops that these rotted in the fields. Perhaps half the total population died.

Battle of Poitiers, 1356.—Stricken though all the nations were by the Black Death, they still warred on one another. After Crécy Edward thought that both Scotland and France were almost within his grasp. In truth, however, each victory raised up new obstacles, for it made Scots

and Frenchmen see the real danger and fight only the more strenuously to resist their assailant. In 1356, ten years after the victory at Crécy in the north, the Black Prince gained a crushing victory in the south, at Poitiers.



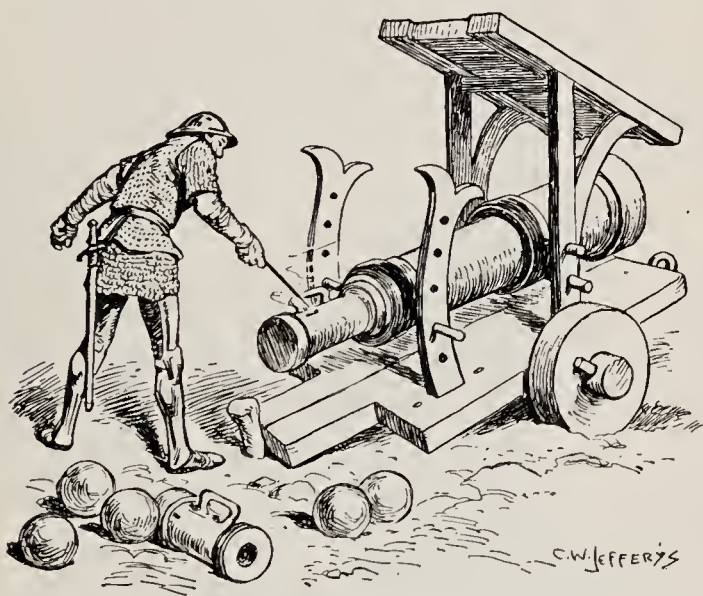
MEDIEVAL SIEGE OPERATIONS

A movable tower covered with rawhide as protection from fire; B. Cat, or movable shed, to protect workers; filling moat etc.; C. Catapult for hurling stones or balls; D. Movable shields

It was a long, hard fight, but the French had not yet learned how to meet the English, and their king, John, was defeated and taken prisoner. The English were now free to plunder France, and they gathered and sent home a

vast amount of booty. We hear not only of gold and silver, but also of clothes, furs, even feather beds, being sent to England. Plundering bands stripped parts of France bare. Thousands of peasants perished. Whole districts lay desolate, the houses in ruins, the land unpeopled, except by a few half-starving wretches, who still lingered about their former homes. Such results had Edward brought on France by his resolve to be her king. The effect on England was no better, for there the struggle aroused a greedy lust for conquest and plunder.

The First Use of Cannon.—After Poitiers, the French, inferior in the open field, shut themselves up within walled



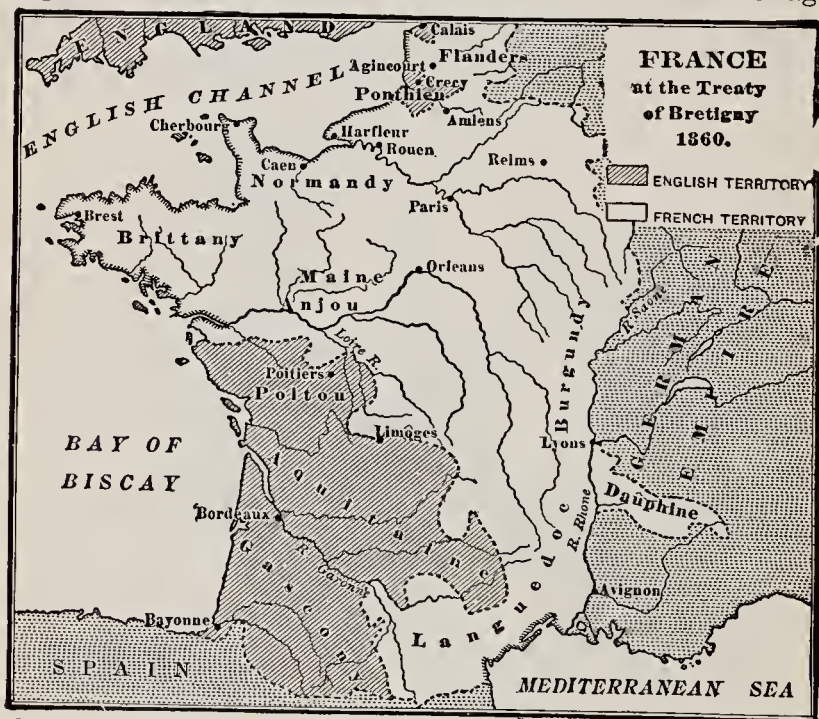
FIFTEENTH CENTURY CANNON

Device for varying the elevation; powder chamber with handle fitted on for each shot; shield, or mantlet, to protect gunner

towns and left the enemy to harry their country. Against the walls of town and castle the English soon began to use cannon, which now first appeared in warfare. Our generation is amused at these feeble engines of war. Stones were often used as cannon-balls, and only about three shots

could be fired in an hour. Yet, with the appearance of cannon, the glory of the mediæval castle declined. As yet its most formidable dangers had been from movable towers pushed up close to the wall or from cumbrous battering-rams used against the gates; but now artillery loosened the castle's masonry and sometimes brought down its defences.

The Treaty of Bretigny, 1360.—The French peasantry, crushed between the upper millstone of the plundering English and the nether millstone of their own baronage,



who treated them brutally, broke out, in 1358, into a savage revolt called the Jacquerie, from Jacques, the nickname of the French peasant. This only added to the dire miseries which afflicted France, for the English joined in the work of crushing the revolt and ended it by ruthless massacre. Sheer exhaustion now led to a peace, and in 1360 was signed the Treaty of Bretigny. By it Edward secured not,

indeed, all that he had aimed at, but yet a great deal. Formerly he had ruled Aquitaine as vassal of the French king; now he was to hold it as an independent ruler, owning no allegiance to France. Edward was also to keep Calais and the territory about it, and King John, his prisoner, was to pay the enormous ransom of seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds. All this France was to lose, but Edward, in turn, gave up his claim to the French crown. Thus, although France was now partitioned between him and its own king, Edward had not made good his claim to be the lawful heir to the French throne.

2. THE DOMESTIC POLICY OF EDWARD III

The English Colony in Ireland.—In Ireland Edward had a problem not unlike that which he faced in France. Two hundred years earlier, Henry II had made himself lord of Ireland (p. 79). The English, however, had never mastered the country. In the intervening time no reigning king had set foot in Ireland. There was thus no central authority to insist on unity, and the Irish remained divided into tribes, each with its own laws and habits. The English colony at Dublin followed English customs. As Parliament grew in England, it grew, too, in this bit of Ireland, which developed its House of Commons and its House of Lords. The position of the colony was precarious. By 1320 the English settlers had built, to guard the region lying about Dublin, a fortification known as the Pale. Within the Pale English civilization prevailed; without the Pale, the customs of the native Irish. The Pale, however, did not stop the intermingling of the races, for the free life of the Irish tribes outside the Pale attracted many of the English.

Edward's son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, had an interest in Ireland, for he had been created Earl of Ulster and had married the daughter of a previous Earl of Ulster. In 1361 Lionel was sent to Ireland as the king's lieutenant. Just at this time the English had concluded peace with France, on

the basis of making sure of Aquitaine, rather than of trying to hold the whole kingdom of France. In Ireland they adopted a similar policy of making the English colony strong and of separating it from that part of Ireland without the Pale. To keep its people within the Pale, the Parliament of the English colony passed, in 1367, the Statute of Kilkenny, forbidding, under the penalty of death, the use of the Irish language within the Pale, marriage between English and Irish, and the adoption by the English of even the Irish mode of dress. All this shows the fear of the English element that it might be absorbed by the Irish. From the first the law was probably a dead-letter. The races intermingled, and the English continued the attempt to dominate the people outside the Pale.

Renewed War With France.—In Aquitaine, as in Ireland, the people native to the country resented alien rule. When Edward made the Black Prince Duke of Aquitaine, it was soon clear that its people hated the English. "We will obey the English with our lips," those of Rochelle said, "but we shall never give them our hearts." From the first the Black Prince had a sullen and discontented populace to rule. They carried to Paris complaints of brutal treatment which were often well-founded, for the prince, ill and in debt, allowed unlawful pillage to go unchecked. At last, in 1369, Charles V of France had the hardihood to declare that the Black Prince, as Duke of Aquitaine, was still his vassal and to summon him to Paris to answer charges against him.

The Decline of the English Power.—This was to claim again what France had given up in the Treaty of Bretigny. In a rage the Black Prince told Charles that he should, indeed, go to Paris, but at the head of sixty thousand men. Edward III resumed the title of king of France. When renewed war broke out, the people of Aquitaine revolted against the Black Prince, and the fury of both sides was more savage than ever. In 1370, when the Black Prince took one of the rebellious towns, Limoges, by storm, he gave

a cruel order that every one of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, should be destroyed. As he watched the slaughter, shrieking women and children rushed to kneel before him crying, "Mercy, mercy!" but his heart knew no pity for these helpless common people, and he allowed three thousand to be killed. It was quite in accord with the class notions of chivalry that he should spare three men of knightly rank who fought hard for their lives. The war did not go well with the English. At last the Black Prince went home, sick and dying, and in 1375 a truce was made, which left only five or six towns in English hands.

English Displaces French in the Law Courts.—Fruitless enough were the wars of Edward III. Their cruel and bloody character and the evils which they brought to the common people are not to be concealed by the waving plumes and banners of the military array or by the florid courtesy of the age of chivalry. Yet their history, it has been truly said, is the real history of the people. Crécy and Poitiers won nothing permanent for the English crown, but they gave the English nation a self-confidence which it had never felt before. A people thought to be rude and uncouth had suddenly come to the front and struck down the proudest state in Europe. The English, who had been for centuries the pupils of France in language and manners, now turned from their former teachers. In Parliament and in courts of law the French tongue was still used, but in 1362 this evidence of the power of France over England in earlier times came to an end. Parliament was then opened with a speech in English, and English became the language of the law courts. Society, however, could not change its speech so quickly, and for a long time the upper classes continued to use French.

Edward and the Church.—The struggle with France helped to strain England's relations with the Church. The English looked with suspicion on any one friendly to their enemy. It so happened that, in 1305, a Frenchman, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, became Pope as Clement V. He

never set foot in Rome, and for the next seventy years he and his successors lived at Avignon, within what is now French territory, and in close relations with the king of France. It was natural that the English should distrust a Pope who was in hearty sympathy with French designs. The Popes, moreover, still made heavy claims on England. They taxed the English clergy, and a papal collector lived in London in great state to receive the revenues of his master. The anger and jealousy of the English showed itself in laws restricting the powers of the church. The Pope had been in the habit of "providing" that certain benefices, when they became vacant, should go to his nominees. In 1351 the Statute of Provisors forbade this practice. Englishmen had long carried appeals to Rome, but in 1353 the Statute of *Præmunire*, a stern measure, declared that any one who appealed to a foreign court—a phrase which included appeals to the Pope—should forfeit all his goods and might be kept in prison at the king's pleasure. Ever since the time of John, the Pope had claimed annual tribute from England as a vassal state. This tribute Edward III had refused to pay as early as in 1333. In 1366 Parliament passed an Act which repudiated the Pope's claim and England recovered her old complete liberty as a sovereign state.

Increased Strength of the Commons.—Parliament was busy in Edward's reign. Some of the great barons still professed to despise as "base and ignoble" the knights who sat in the Commons. "I will so terrify them that neither they nor theirs shall dare again to arouse my anger," cried John of Gaunt, the king's son, in wrath, when the Commons refused grants of money accepted by the great men in the House of Lords. But the Commons were not to be frightened by threats. They owed some of their courage, perhaps, to the support of the Black Prince, now sinking slowly to the grave, but still able to oppose the selfish plans of his brother, John of Gaunt. In the Good Parliament of 1376, so called for the quality of its work, the

Commons took the strong stand of refusing to vote any revenue until they were told how moneys already granted had been spent. They went farther; they accused two officials before the House of Lords of robbing the public treasury. One of these persons, Lord Latimer, was himself a peer. It is, in English history, the first instance of impeachment, which consists in charges made before the Lords by the Commons against men in public positions. In taking this step the Commons had travelled far since the days of Edward I, when they had sat in the Model Parliament, awed, humble, and timid in the presence of the great barons, and had hardly ventured to take more than a passive part in the councils of the state.

The Death of Edward III, 1377.—Affairs were going badly in England in the latter days of Edward III. The king was imbecile from softening of the brain and was surrounded by base people, chief among them a nurse, Alice Perrers. She sold her influence over him for money and even sat with judges on the bench to make sure that the verdicts for which she had been paid should be rendered. The Good Parliament boldly attacked this evil and drove Alice Perrers from court. But she soon came back, and she continued to rule the weak old king until the end and to cause much public scandal by her open share in the government. But the close of the reign was near. The Black Prince died in 1376, and in 1377 Edward III followed him to the grave. As Edward breathed his last, Alice Perrers stripped the rings from his fingers and left him. Only a poor priest remained to whisper some spiritual comfort to the warrior king, the valour of whose deeds had startled Europe.

3. THE REVOLT OF THE PEASANTS

Richard II, 1377–1399.—It had been a dark day for England when the Black Prince died, for he left a mere child as heir to the crown. The nation was now beginning to realize that its designs on France had failed. The most

serious problem in England was, indeed, not this foreign war, but the growing discontent among the peasants. To meet such a crisis, there sat on the throne a boy of eleven, Richard II. He was handsome and clever, but neither he nor his advisers had the wisdom which the times demanded. Hard, selfish men, such as his uncle, John of Gaunt, were seeking, not the good of England, but their own advantage, and only a strong man could hold such elements in check. The little king was affectionate, brave, and fond of books; but he had a passionate nature and he had never learned self-control. A king from childhood, he was treated by some as if he were a god, and he learned to talk wildly about the realm as his personal property and of being able to make laws and levy taxes as he liked. From his folly came the dark fate which was to make his reign tragic.

John Wycliffe.—A new era was dawning in England. Among many classes there was discontent, and we find it



JOHN WYCLIFFE (DIED 1384)

especially in the church, where it centred in the person and teaching of John Wycliffe. This bold and able man had become, in 1361, the master of Balliol College at Oxford, and was regarded in that seat of learning as the greatest philosopher and theologian of his age. Yet he did not spend all his energies in the studies of the scholar. He took an active part in the life of his time and came into contact with John of Gaunt and other political

leaders. He had a keen scent for abuses, and, though himself a priest, he criticized the church so violently that, in 1377, the year in which Edward III died, he was charged

with heresy. After this Wycliffe became steadily more aggressive. It so happened that, in 1378, there was a schism in the church, and rival Popes, one at Avignon, the other at Rome, denounced each other in vehement terms. This strife within the church aroused Wycliffe's anger, and his attacks grew so fierce that he was forbidden, in 1381, to teach his doctrines in the university. Soon after, he retired to the parish of Lutterworth, of which he was rector, and there continued his work until his death.

Wycliffe's Bible.—Wycliffe's attack on the church was many-sided. He declared that by misuse it had forfeited the right to its wealth and should be stripped of its possessions—a view which aroused against him not only the church, but also many who felt that the rights of property were at stake. The monks and friars, who ought to be teachers of the people, had become, he said, corrupt and greedy. To replace them, he organized bands of "poor priests," who went up and down the land preaching in the villages to the poor and needy as the friars had done in the days of Francis of Assisi (p. 94). Wycliffe wrote for their use sermons remarkable for outspoken and passionate denunciation of the evils of the time. The most important result of Wycliffe's work is the translation of the Bible into English, in order that the people might have its sacred teaching in their own tongue. He seems himself to have translated the Gospels and perhaps the whole of the New Testament. Others helped with the Old Testament. It is not likely that many of the peasants could read, but men more learned were ready to unfold to them the grounds which Wycliffe found in the Bible for his attack on the church and its property. Discontent was in the air. Bishops might clap Wycliffe's preachers into jail, but their teaching spread. Wycliffe himself was too strong to be molested, and he went on with his work, attacking even the church's doctrine of the mass.

The Law for Burning Heretics, 1401.—When Wycliffe died in 1384, his followers, known as Lollards, were already

numerous, and the time came when every other man was said to be a Lollard. During forty years the bishops carried on a bitter fight to put down the heresy. In 1401, under Henry IV, a law for burning heretics was passed, and then, for the first time in England, awed crowds watched the agony of men burned at the stake for their religious opinions. But still the Lollards were aggressive. In the House of Commons the complaint was heard that the church was too rich, and that its funds might better be used in keeping up the army and in supporting hospitals. Soon after the young king Henry V came to the throne in 1413, he was told that the Lollards had a hundred thousand men ready to bring about a revolution. The movement was not confined to England. In Bohemia, John Huss attacked the church until, in 1415, he was burned at the stake. In England Sir John Oldecastle, Lord Cobham, a great land-owner, a friend of Henry V, the original, indeed, of Shakespeare's Falstaff, became an ardent Lollard. He met the fate of Huss. When he was burned in 1417, the Lollard movement sank into obscurity. Wycliffe's Bible remained and had its share in shaping the religious thought of the English people. A new translation was not made for more than a hundred years still. It was one Henry, the fifth of the name, who finally put down the Lollards. A century later another Henry, the eighth of the name, himself led in the revolt which overthrew the authority in England of the Roman Church.

Peasant Discontent.—With the unrest caused by the Wycliffe movement was linked discontent on the part of the peasants. In that fact lay deep meaning. In English history, hitherto, we have heard little of their needs. We have seen how Henry II checked the feudal barons, and how the barons in turn checked Henry's bad son, John. All this was a struggle among the great men in the nation. Later, Simon de Montfort in 1265, and Edward I in 1295, called the smaller land-owners and the leading traders to sit in Parliament (pp. 102, 107). But this broadening of

political life touched only the well-to-do classes, for even a small land-owner seemed a rich man in his own village. The age was extravagant. Costly fabrics, brilliant in colour and richly brocaded, were worn by the well-to-do. But in this the working classes had no share. They were still without any voice in the nation's affairs. Craftsmen, who



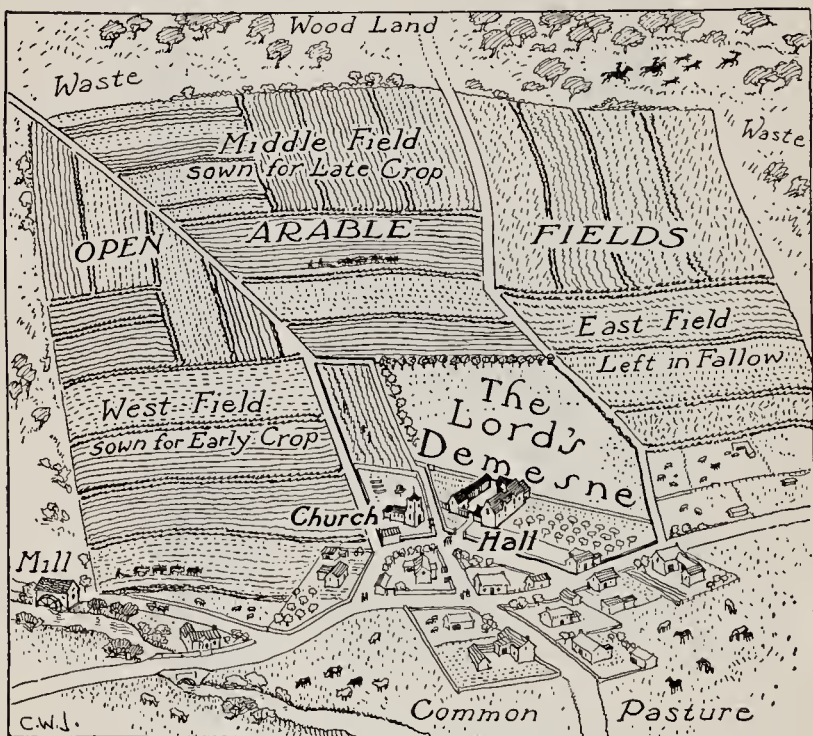
FASHIONABLE COSTUME, 14TH CENTURY

Some garments close-fitting; others loose and flowing with scalloped edges

hammered out the armour worn by the mail-clad warrior and finished the tempered steel of his sword and spear, who built the churches, cast the church bells, and made the wonderful stained glass of the age, were mute and helpless under the classes above them. So, of course, was the peasant, who ploughed the fields and made the roads. Now, however, this class learned to make its grievances known, and for

the first time in English history we find toilers with their hands taking strong measures to advance their own interests.

The Peasant's Place on the Manor.—The outbreak of revolt was due to the discontent of those who tilled the soil. Before the rise of manufactures, the great mass of the English people lived in the country, engaged in agriculture,



BIRDS EYE VIEW OF AN ENGLISH MANOR

The lines in the arable mark the strips, separated by turf, allotted to the peasants; one peasant might have a dozen scattered strips; the peasants' cottages near the hall and the church

and agriculture centred in the manor. What we call "the home farm" of the manor, the demesne, was retained by the lord himself; the other five or six thousand acres were farmed by the tenants of the manor on their own account. Each villein usually cultivated for himself about thirty acres. The prevailing method of farming was what

is known as the three-field system. The arable land was divided into three great open fields. One of these fields would be ploughed in the autumn, the second would be ploughed in the spring, while the third lay fallow. A manor formed one great farm, and those upon it were knit together by close ties. Freeman and villeins were sometimes found on the same manor. The freeman tilled his land, paid rent, and was free to come and go as he liked. The great mass, however, of those who tilled the soil were of the villein class—men who dwelt in the *vill* (village) in servitude to their lord. Usually a villein gave his master the labour of about three days in each week; at harvest-time the amount was often increased to four; sometimes,



SOWING AND HARROWING, 14TH CENTURY

indeed, at this busy season, a villein was obliged to hire other labourers to help him discharge his duty to his lord. He had for himself what he could get from his holding, and with thrift might become well-to-do. Yet his condition was servile, and his children inherited it. He was tied to the manor and could not leave it without his lord's consent. At every turn he found reminders that he was not free. If he desired to send his son to school—something then rare—or to give his daughter in marriage, he must pay the lord for the privilege. If he made a bargain, he must get his lord's consent, or the bargain was not binding.

When his cattle increased, the lord was entitled to a share of the increase. The villein must grind his corn at his lord's mill and pay a fixed price for the milling. At the seasons of Easter and Christmas, he was sometimes obliged to bring eggs and poultry to his master. Changes were, however, creeping in. Many villeins arranged to pay a money rent to the lord of the manor rather than to give him this kind of service. Then, since they paid rent like freemen, they began to look upon themselves as free.

The time came, however, when the lord again desired the old service in labour. This was when the Black Death had carried off perhaps half of the people of England. The fields must be tilled as of old, but now there were fewer to do it, and these, seeing how much they were needed, had asked for higher wages. Then they had found how helpless was their class. Beginning in 1349, those above them passed successive Statutes of Labourers, providing that the peasants must take the work offered to them, and at the old low rate of pay. The employer who paid anything more was to be fined heavily, while any labourer refusing to obey the law was to be branded on the forehead with the letter "F" (for falsity).

We can imagine the rage of the labourer, his burning hate of those who, themselves living in luxury, tried to keep him down almost to the level of the beasts. It was soon clear that the masters could not enforce the law. They were met by stolid unwillingness and, rather than see their crops rot in the fields, they had often to give higher wages. But the lord of the manor had still a hold on his villeins, and he now told them that he should no longer take a money rent, but that they must return to the old custom of payment by labour. When the villein, long accustomed to pay rent in cash, declared angrily that, rather than render this kind of service, he would give up his holding and leave the manor, he received the answer that he was not free to go away, for "once a villein always a villein." It paid now to look up old documents and to make sure of

the exact service due by each villein. It paid, also, to search the church's records of marriages and births, to see who had been born villeins and might be held as such. The lords went so far as to hunt out villeins by birth who had left the manor and had perhaps prospered in some neighbouring town, and to force them either to work themselves or to pay others to work in their place.

The Grievance of the Poll-tax.—A new injustice fanned into open flame the discontent of the peasants. A Parliament, in which, of course, they had no voice, imposed on them in 1380 a heavy poll-tax to raise money for the war with France. Each township was to pay a shilling for every person within it more than fifteen years of age: in present-day values this meant a tax of fully twenty shillings per head. When the tax was imposed, it was expected that the rich men would be obliged to make up the chief part of the amount due from each district and that the peasant would get off lightly. But this was not at all to the mind of the rich men. Since a shilling was due for every person, let each person, they said, pay the shilling. The poor protested that, though they owned nothing, they would, on this basis, pay as much as a royal duke, like John of Gaunt, with vast estates. But the hard men who ruled the state cared nothing for this inequality, and the peasant was forced to pay. If he had a wife and two or three children liable to tax, his burden was almost intolerable.

The Peasant Revolt, 1381.—Some peasants, unable to pay, left their villages and wandered about, preaching discontent. The whole country was deeply stirred by the injustice of the tax, and open revolt broke out in May, 1381. It was confined chiefly to the south and east. So rapidly did it spread that it must have been skilfully planned. Others than the peasants had grievances, and in some places members of well-known county families were the leaders. The teaching of Wycliffe had helped to arouse discontent among even the clergy, and priests such as John Ball, and he who called himself "Jack Straw," proclaimed liberty, equality,

and social revolution to ignorant and enraged crowds. John Ball preached to a vast multitude at Blackheath on the lines,

“When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?”

To get rid of the ruling classes was now the aim of the peasants. They burned title-deeds when they could, so as to destroy the documents on which were based the claims of their masters to their labour. Lawyers, as a class, had used the law against the peasants, and lawyers were beheaded whenever seized. So sudden was the rising that London fell into the hands of the peasants. They destroyed the great palace of John of Gaunt, their arch-oppressor, and burned the law-books stored in the Temple, the headquarters of the lawyers. The peasants drew back from no extreme of bloodshed. When they laid hold of Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, they were not awed by his sacred office but struck off his head on Tower Hill. England had never before seen the many-headed mob in control of the capital, and she never forgot the dread scenes in its streets, when those who would not shout with the peasants were butchered without pity.

The Demands of the Peasants.—The young king, now fourteen years old, showed courage in the crisis. The rebels demanded two chief things:

(1) They should no longer be villeins in bondage; they were to be free, as all other classes were free.

(2) They should no longer be required to give personal service as rent for their land, but should pay a money rent of fourpence an acre.

Richard met some of the rebels at Mile End and promised them complete redress and pardon. The most troublesome of the rebel leaders was one Wat Tyler, a violent man whose head seems to have been turned by his new importance. He agreed to meet Richard at Smithfield. As he talked to the king, he bore himself with such insolence that Wal-

worth, mayor of London; struck him down and killed him. Tyler's armed followers saw the deed and might have avenged him terribly had not Richard ridden up to them crying, "I am your king: I will be your leader." By liberal promises he induced them to go home. When, however, the rebels had dispersed and were no longer strong, the government, in the cruel, faithless spirit of the time, cancelled every promise and took terrible vengeance. Judges went through the disturbed counties, and hundreds who had taken part in the revolt were hanged.

The Revolt Leads to the End of Serfdom.—The rising seemed to have achieved nothing. Yet it had taught the land-owners a lesson. The old oppressions were not renewed, and peasants were allowed to buy their freedom. Within a hundred years nearly every peasant in England was free, while in France and other countries the old serfdom continued still for long centuries. Personal freedom, however, did not give the peasant any share in the government. The gentry and the merchants sent members to the House of Commons; but the peasant had no voice in this assembly, nor did he secure one until five hundred years later, when, in 1884, the franchise was so widened as to give him a vote.

The Misrule of Richard II.—In 1389 Richard, now twenty-two years old, declared that he would no longer remain under the control of advisers but would himself rule. Henceforth, rule he did, and, to the surprise of the nation, for a time his course was resolute and courageous. Yet he showed little wisdom. He tried to put down the Lollards, and he checked the church, too, by re-enacting in stronger terms the Statute of Provisors (1390), of Mortmain (1391), and of *Præmunire* (1393) (pp. 107, 130). But bitter personal quarrels rather than questions of public policy fill up the annals of Richard's reign. Years often bring wisdom, but to Richard they brought increased folly. His mind seems to have become unhinged. He talked wildly of his own powers. By declaring that he might

take his people's money as he liked, he caused every one who held property to feel insecure.

The Fall of Richard II, 1399.—At last, in 1399, came Richard's crowning act of folly. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, died, leaving vast estates. To these his son Henry, Earl of Derby, who now became Duke of Lancaster, was heir. Two years earlier, however, this Henry, who was Richard's cousin, had been banished. Richard now declared that the lands of John of Gaunt were forfeited to himself and that Henry should remain an exile for life. The lawless act aroused the nation against Richard. Henry prepared to lead a force to England in order to assert his rights. Just at this time, Richard went to Ireland. His intentions to protect the English colony in that country were good, but it was an inopportune time to go. While he was absent, Henry landed in England. Then it was seen that Richard had no friends. All England welcomed Henry as a protector from a half-mad king. On returning Richard was taken prisoner. Parliament promptly deposed him in favour of Henry, and the unhappy young king—he was only thirty-three—was soon afterwards murdered in prison.

The Poetry of Chaucer.—Richard's reign, with its strife of classes, its religious upheaval, its war of factions, forms a momentous era in English national life. Higher impulses were now becoming clearer. While Richard was king, Geoffrey Chaucer (1340?-1400) made the hitherto rude English speech the language of a new and splendid literature. His *Canterbury Tales* reveal the modern spirit—keen, humorous, satirical—already at work. The tales are a picture of the society of the time. A company of persons, members of various classes, ride from London to Canterbury on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Becket. As they travel, they tell stories to amuse one another. All kinds of men and women—the knight, the priest, the nun, the working miller—meet on friendly terms. Two classes are, however, absent; the baron, who would have scorned this

humble company, and the peasant tiller of the soil, as yet too rough and ignorant for such society. Chaucer is a delightful story-teller and is the first writer to use English verse successfully for this purpose. His English, too, is the modern English which we still use. He had seen much of life, had been a page at court, a soldier in France, a traveller in Italy, and his varied knowledge finds play in his writings. Above all he loved nature, and we find in him a note so marked in a later school of English poetry—delight in the singing of birds, the running stream, the green turf, and all the magic of the outer world.



GEOFFREY CHAUCER

Piers Plowman.—Chaucer is hardly conscious of any war of classes, but his contemporary, William Langland (1330?-1400?), the author of a sad *Vision of Piers Plowman*, describes the sombre life of the peasant, whom he regards as down-trodden and miserable. The poem is a vivid picture of man's struggle in passing from earth to heaven, in plan not unlike Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. We know little of the author, who, though not a priest, held some lowly clerical office and, living a vagrant life, nursed in his heart a bitter protest against the pride and luxury of the rich. Life to him is a long, heartbreaking search for purity and peace. The sad eyes of Langland had looked upon the horrors of the Black Death and on the miseries caused by the war with France. The English peasant could understand the teaching of the poem, which had some share in stirring up the peasant revolt of 1381. Langland, the poor priest, and Chaucer, the courtier, each wrote in the English which appealed to his class. Wycliffe's Bible and his stirring sermons are also written in English and point to the notable truth that the nation had at last learned to speak, and to speak with vigour, its own thoughts in its own way.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE OF LANCASTER AND YORK

1. THE DISORDERS UNDER HENRY IV

The Increased Power of the House of Commons.—The English nation was grateful to the man who had saved it from the foolish rule of Richard II. There was a dread of anarchy, and Henry IV seemed to be the bulwark of order. A happy reign might have been predicted for a handsome and educated ruler, in the prime of life, with pleasant manners and great popularity. In truth, however, Henry was soon embittered by the incessant plots of those who thought him a usurper, and he became suspicious and cruel. Always he was anxious to make friends. He pleased the church by coercing the Lollards, and he pleased also the people by giving special heed to the wishes of the House of Commons. Though his father, John of Gaunt, had professed lofty scorn of the simple knights and traders who sat in the House of Commons, these had enjoyed for sixty years powers co-equal with the House of Lords. Now they acquired greater power. In the year 1407 their superior authority in finance was finally conceded when Henry admitted that it lay with the Commons alone to originate grants of money. The Commons now spoke their mind as they had never spoken it before. They inquired into the expenses of the king's household. They told him that his servants were dishonest and extravagant, that there were too many foreigners about his court, and that his private confessor was not a man to be trusted. We can imagine with what a burst of wrath an earlier ruler, such as Edward I, or a later one, such as Elizabeth, would have rebuked this interference. But Henry meekly deferred to the wishes of the Commons and asked if they had any further cause of

complaint. Long after, when the House of Commons was warring on Charles I, its members appealed to the days of Henry IV to show what their powers had been.

The League Against Henry.—It was probably the winning of the support of the Commons which saved the throne to Henry and his line. Against him on every side enemies sprang up. In the south of England plots centred in the person of the young Earl of March, regarded by Henry's enemies as the lawful king. (See the Genealogies). The Welsh were growing eager to throw off the yoke imposed by their conqueror, Edward I. France, herself long harassed by England, was ready now to make what trouble she could. Above all, Scotland was aggressive. The House of Bruce was now extinct in the male line. In 1371 Robert, the Steward of Scotland, became the first king of the House of Stuart. (See the Genealogies). When, in 1400, his son, Robert III, refused to recognize Henry as King of England and feudal lord over Scotland, Henry marched to Edinburgh and burned the town. In this expedition he was aided by the powerful Earl of Northumberland and his dashing son, Henry Percy, known as "Hotspur"—the fiery rider. It seems that Henry would not yield to the Percies the rewards which they expected. There was a hot quarrel, and in 1403 Henry confronted a crisis. The Scots, now allied with the Percies, the adherents of the young Earl of March, the Welsh under a skilful leader, Owen Glendower, and the French, all attacked him.

Henry's Victory at Shrewsbury, 1403.—In this crisis Henry proved a great soldier. He made a rapid dash to meet his enemies and fought them at Shrewsbury in 1403. Henry and his son and heir, the future Henry V, were in the thick of the fight. In the severe struggle the gallant Hotspur fell, and Henry won a great victory. But even then the danger was not over. Northumberland submitted to Henry for a time, but he had almost kingly power in the north, and he was soon engaged in another plot. In the end Henry's foes planned to partition England. Wild as

was the scheme, it was backed by men powerful and desperate. Henry was now fighting for his life, and he struck without mercy. In 1408 Northumberland was killed in an obscure battle on Bramham Moor, and his severed head, with its pathetic gray hair, was stuck on a pole on London Bridge. Though Henry could not lay hands on Glendower, who to the end defied him and remained secure in the Welsh mountains, he was able to reach nearer enemies. Because Scrope, Archbishop of York, a man of saintly character, had had some part in the revolt, Henry seized him in 1405 and sent him to the scaffold without lawful trial. The church, horror-stricken at the deed, cooled in its support of Henry, and when, a little later, he suffered from a wasting disease, men said that God's hand had smitten him for the murder of Scrope. He died in 1413, after fourteen troubled years of kingship, a worn-out old man, though only forty-seven years of age.

2. THE RENEWED HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

Henry V, 1413-1422.—In Henry V England had a young king, twenty-five years old, strong in character, full of



HENRY V

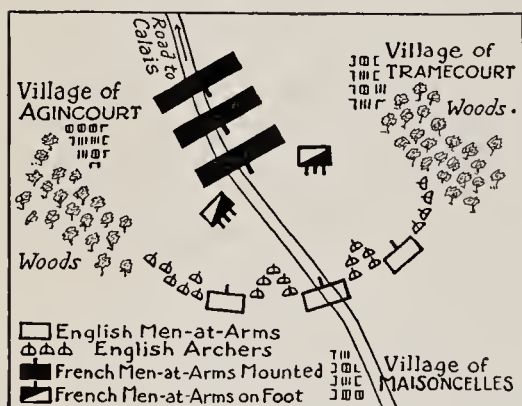
energy, and already a tried warrior. He had fought at Shrewsbury and had done skilful service in trying to put down Glendower in Wales. Shakespeare describes Henry as dissipated in habits until he became king and as a sore trial to his harassed father. Probably he was not free from youthful follies. Yet, in truth, we hear little of them. We know, on the other hand, that, while still young, Henry was an earnest statesman. He became the

most beloved of all the kings of England. He took part in manly sports, and in his campaigns shared the hardships of his men. He aimed to be inflexibly just. In his courage, industry, love of letters, and purity of life, he stands for what was best in the age. But in no sense was he in advance of it. He burned heretics at the stake, massacred prisoners taken in battle, dreamed of crusades to the East, lusted for foreign conquest, and plunged recklessly into war, feeling sure, all the time, that in these things he was the chosen agent of God. Into the future Henry saw not at all. In this respect he stands far below his ancestors, Henry II and Edward I.

Henry Claims the Throne of France.—In nothing is Henry more clearly the child of his age than in his eagerness to take up the task of conquering France. It might well have seemed as if eighty long years of strife, in which England had rather lost than gained ground in France, would have been a warning. But Henry planned a new conquest, and for three chief reasons: first, war with France was desired by the English people, who remembered, it may be, the booty from France which found its way to England in the time of Edward III; secondly, Henry saw that if the English nobles were engaged in a foreign war, there would be fewer plots against himself at home; and, thirdly, the condition of France was such as to give Henry reason to feel certain that to conquer it and turn its anarchy into order was a task to which he was called by God. A mad king, Charles VI, was on the throne, and the land was torn by two rival factions struggling for mastery. Henry thought his own title as the descendant of Edward III (see Genealogies) better than that of the king, and he resolved to conquer France for its own good. He did not stop to think that the attempt would, in the long run, unite the French against the foreigner and make conquest impossible.

Battle of Agincourt, 1415.—Henry made great preparations for the war, and the English prospects seemed

brilliant enough. In 1415 he landed near Harfleur, and soon with terrific noise, his cannon were projecting vast quantities of stones against that stronghold. When it fell, he began a long march to Calais. On the morning of October 25th, he found a great French force massed together on the little plain of Agincourt, not far from Crécy. It barred his further advance, and his army, weary, half-starved, wet from incessant rains, and sick from dysentery, must now fight. The French are said to have had fifty



BATTLE OF AGINCOURT

thousand men, and they outnumbered the English, probably by five to one. Yet when one of the English expressed regret that his king had not ten thousand more archers on the field, Henry rebuked him: "God Almighty," he said, is able with this humble few to conquer the many, if so He please." He went into battle wearing a magnificent crown on his helmet. The English line stretched across a narrow plain flanked by forests, and the dense columns of the French were massed one behind another so that those in the rear could not get forward.

It seemed as if the French had learned nothing since Crécy. Once more their mounted knights charged against English archers armed with the deadly long-bow and protected by a palisade of stakes carried for the purpose. As the knights dashed across ploughed fields, soft from heavy rain, their horses stuck fast in the mud, and the English showered arrows upon the helpless riders. When the knights dismounted and tried to fight on foot in their armour, its weight left them still helpless. The English

archers carried heavy leaden mallets, with which they crashed through the head-pieces and broke the skulls of many a lumbered Frenchman. The slaughter on the field was terrible and was increased by the massacre of the prisoners; for Henry, owing to a false rumour of attack on his rear, ordered that those whom he had taken should be killed. The losses of the English were less than a hundred, while those of the French may have reached ten thousand. Many of the slain were nobles. It was especially for the chivalry of France that Agincourt was so fatal a day.

The Treaty of Troyes, 1420.—When Henry returned home, the people waded out into the sea at Dover to carry him ashore. He was now a popular hero, and all danger of such plots as had troubled the beginning of his reign was over. The war went on. Henry attacked Rouen, the capital of Normandy. When it fell in 1419 after a cruel siege, we find Henry granting Norman lands to Englishmen as William the Conqueror had granted English lands to Normans. At last, in 1420, Henry was able to dictate to France the humiliating Treaty of Troyes. Under it he married Katherine, the daughter of the king of France, and was adopted as heir to the throne. Meanwhile, Henry was to be regent, and France and England were to be perpetually united under one ruler. Of course, the disinherited Dauphin, son of Charles VI, would not accept terms which robbed him of a crown. For two years Henry toiled to complete the conquest, but his health broke down, and in August, 1422, he died in France, when his tasks were only half achieved. His last words were a wish that he might have lived to rebuild Jerusalem. With slow and stately pomp they bore his body to the sea-shore and across the sea to Westminster Abbey, where still may be seen, over his tomb, his saddle, his shield, blazoned with the lilies of France, and his helmet, borne in that solemn procession five hundred years ago.

The Reign of Henry VI, 1422–1461.—A child, eight months old, now succeeded the conqueror at Agincourt—a

child with sad years and a dark fate before him. Henry



HENRY VI

VI, the son of Henry V and Katherine of France, was the heir, as his supporters claimed, to the double inheritance of France and England. He was carefully taught. There is pathetic humour in his royal license to his tutors "to chastise us reasonably from time to time." He proved to be a gentle saint, who was a lover of books and a patron of education. It was he who founded Eton College and King's College, Cambridge. But his good qualities were not those which told in a rough and war-loving age.

How could such a mild saint lead a warlike people, filled with the lust of conquest, or hold in check a powerful nobility, some of whom thought their right to the throne better than his own?

Jeanne d'Arc.—The tragedy of Henry VI can be briefly told. His uncle, John, Duke of Bedford, tried to carry on the war of conquest in France, and for a time he seemed to prosper. The mad old king was now dead, and, though his son, Charles VII, fought on for the throne of France, by 1428 Bedford had the last French force shut up in Orleans. To gain this place would mean final victory. This prospect stirred the French deeply. They would not be a conquered people. Taught by the miseries of defeat, they needed only an inspiring leader. It was a girl who came forward to play this part. Jeanne d'Arc, the daughter of a peasant, sprang from a class which had good reason to hate the English. From childhood she had heard tales

of the cruel invaders and of the yoke laid by them upon France, and these troubles filled her with a passionate desire to free her country. At last she felt a high certainty that God had called her, by certain mysterious voices, to go forth and lead the armies of France to victory. The



victory, she declared, would be complete. France's own king should be crowned in the old capital, Rheims, which must be re-taken from the English. Of course Jeanne was laughed at. To make a girl of seventeen leader of the

French army seemed absurd. At last, however, Jeanne was able to explain her visions to the king. Her simple belief in the voices calling her was convincing. She foretold what many wished to hear—that God would save France. Her request to be made leader against the English was granted, and from that time a new spirit filled the French. In 1429 Jeanne, clad in white armour, advanced to Orleans, before which the English lay. They had been confident of success, but were soon dismayed by the new vigour of the French. Jeanne seemed to them a witch, and at last, in something like panic, they retired and raised the siege of Orleans.

End of the Hundred Years' War, 1453.—The tide had turned, and now the French people were sure of deliverance. The English soon lost Rheims, and there Charles VII was crowned with the simple, ignorant, peasant maid at his side. Her work was done, for she had made the French realize that they were a nation. When, a little later, she fell into Bedford's hands, her own king made no move to save her, and she was tried, condemned as a sorceress and heretic, and burned at the stake at Rouen, in 1431. Her death helped to complete the work of her life. An Englishman, who saw her tortures and heard her last cry of "Jesus," said, "We are lost, we have burnt a saint." Bedford himself died in 1435, and then the English cause was really lost. No other Englishman could succeed where the able Bedford had failed. The French had now learned to use cannon to crush an advancing line, as the English had used archers. The last fight was at Castillon, in France, in 1453, when the charging English were mowed down by artillery and annihilated. The king of England continued long to call himself king, also, of France, but the title had no meaning. Earlier kings of England had, indeed, ruled in a part of France, for they had held Aquitaine. Now, however, the English were forced to yield even Aquitaine. Nothing remained of all they had held in France except Calais, and, after another hundred years, Calais, too, was lost.

3. THE WARS OF THE ROSES AND THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER

The Beginning of the Wars of the Roses, 1455.—Humiliation at the loss of France was soon overshadowed in England by the darker cloud of civil war. Ever since Henry IV had dethroned Richard II, the right of the Lancastrian line had been disputed. The opposing claimant was now Richard, Duke of York. (See the Genealogies). That discontent existed in England was shown when, in 1450, one Jack Cade led a rising, to protest against extortionate taxes. It was crushed easily enough, but in their own interests some of the great nobles kept alive the discontent. Henry VI had married, in 1445, Margaret of Anjou, a princess of very strong character. For a long time there was no child of the marriage. The Duke of York was the heir to the throne and the foremost man in England. He seemed certain of the throne, but his hopes were dashed when, in 1453, Margaret bore a son. York was an able man, trusted by the English much more than was the foreign Margaret. When, in 1454, poor Henry VI became insane, Parliament made York protector, in spite of Margaret's jealous efforts to block the plan. Soon Henry recovered, and then York was dismissed. He claimed that the king was surrounded by evil counsellors, and soon he made the insistent demand that their designs should be checked. Both sides were now arming. The first open struggle was at St. Albans in 1455. It was little more than a skirmish, but York was victor. The king remained in York's hands, and for a time the duke was supreme.

Slight Effect of the Wars on the Towns.—Thus began the Wars of the Roses. The red rose was the emblem of Lancaster, the white rose that of York. Though the strife did not end until thirty years later, actual war broke out only at irregular intervals. Twice only did an outbreak last for a year. Moreover, the masses of the people took little part in the struggle. It was carried on by the great nobles.

They had vast estates, from which, as need arose, they could summon hundreds of armed followers. When the leaders of either side wished to strike a blow, word was passed to their retainers, who gathered quickly. A march and a fight would follow. The long-bow was still used; there was also artillery; and now, at last, we hear of smaller firearms. But the fighting was chiefly at close quarters and on foot. Savage and bloody almost beyond parallel the struggle was, for each side regarded the other as traitors to the state. Thousands were butchered in battle, and prisoners who survived the fight were often executed in cold blood. There were few sieges. The issue was usually fought out in the open field. After a decisive battle the levies of each side were quickly disbanded and, perhaps for a long interval, the war ceased. The towns had small share in the struggle and seemed to care little for either cause so long as they were left free to carry on profitable trade. They usually opened their gates cheerfully to the victor of the moment. During the period wealth increased rapidly—a fact which shows that trade was not greatly interrupted. There is also evidence that many costly churches were built, and that, while the barons and their armed retainers were dying on the field or losing their heads upon the block, the working classes lived in peace and comparative comfort.

Battle of Wakefield, 1460; Towton, 1461.—The Yorkists met with a crushing blow when York fell in a great battle at Wakefield, in 1460. In mockery of his claims, Margaret crowned his head with paper and put it over the gates of York. But the English did not like the foreign queen, followed, as she was, by a motley array of hired followers, who pillaged the country mercilessly. The nation favoured York's son, Edward, who, though only nineteen, proved a born leader. He was able to occupy London, and on March 4th, 1461, he did what York had feared to do; he declared himself lawful king as Edward IV. England had now two kings, and loyalty to one was treason to the other, with all

the dreadful penalties which treason involved. A few weeks later, Edward met Margaret's host at Towton, near York, and won a great victory. Forty thousand dead strewn that bloody field. Not long afterwards, King Henry fell into Edward's hands, Margaret fled to France, and Edward now seemed secure on the throne.



THE WARS OF THE ROSES

King Edward IV, 1461, and Warwick the King-maker.

—At the young Edward's side during the struggle was one who may well have thought himself the real organizer of victory. Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, was the richest and the greatest of the English barons. He lived in state equal to that of the king. Able, far-sighted, and alert, this "king-maker" thought to rule a youthful monarch who, loving pleasures as he did, seemed to be only a careless profligate. In reality, Edward was as resolute and fixed in his views as Warwick. Once secure on the throne, he did what he liked and paid little heed to advice. Warwick wished him to ally himself by marriage with some great royal house. Instead, Edward went his own way and married secretly a widow, Elizabeth Woodville, a daughter of Earl Rivers and the head of a family which the proud Warwick affected to despise.

The End of the Lancastrian Line, 1471.—Of course, the two men quarrelled. Then Edward showed his contempt

for the power of Warwick by dismissing George Neville, Warwick's brother, from the post of chancellor. Edward also went on with plans for war with France—a project which Warwick bitterly opposed. Warwick's ambition soared high. In 1469 he secured the marriage of his daughter to Edward's brother, George, Duke of Clarence. This involved a hint that Warwick might take up again the trade of king-maker and put Clarence on the throne. Each side armed, but, for the time, Warwick proved the stronger, and it was not long before he had made prisoners of Edward and some of his chief followers. He showed both his implacable hate and his barbarity by executing Earl Rivers, the queen's father, without the semblance of a trial. For the time Edward spoke smooth words, since he was in Warwick's power, but such ruthlessness made reconciliation henceforth impossible. Each side was resolved to destroy the other. In 1470 Edward was strong enough to drive Warwick into exile.

In this hour of adversity Warwick made a sharp turn and united his fortunes with the Lancastrians. In France he met and became reconciled with Margaret, wife of Henry VI, and he gave one of his daughters in marriage to her son, Edward, the heir to the Lancastrian claims. Once more Warwick proved himself a real king-maker. Having secured French aid, he landed in England in September, 1470, and he was able to appeal to his adherents with effect. Edward had to flee from the country, and Warwick put again on the throne the poor deranged and captive king, Henry VI.

Warwick was, however, no match in war for the careless but capable Edward—one of the great soldiers of the age. In the spring of 1471 Edward landed in the north. By clever strategy he got past Warwick trying to bar the way to the south, and he was eagerly welcomed in London by citizens anxious, it is said, to secure payment of the debts which he owed them. At Barnet, near London, on Easter Day, 1471, Warwick was not only defeated but also was

killed as he fled from the field. During two days his naked body lay exposed on the pavement of St. Paul's Cathedral that all the world might be sure that the king-maker was dead. Edward had one more blow to strike. Demented Henry VI was now his prisoner, but Queen Margaret and the Lancastrian heir, Henry's son, Edward, were gathering a force in the south. In the last fight at Tewkesbury, Edward IV won a crushing and bloody victory. It is said that he struck angrily the young Edward, brought a prisoner into his presence, and that his brother, who afterwards became Richard III, was one of those who killed the captive on the spot. Two weeks later Henry VI was murdered, and by these ruthless deeds the direct Lancastrian line became extinct.

4. THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF YORK

Edward IV, 1461-1483.—This first Yorkist king was a despot. Civil war had brought the masses of the English people to the belief that it was vital to have a strong king who could crush his enemies, and they were glad to see a despot over them. The crown became now the one strong power in the state. Edward IV, tall, handsome, and pleasing and hearty in manners, was absolute and yet always popular. Parliament still met, but it obeyed the king. At Edward's wish it sentenced to death, in 1475, his own brother George, Duke of Clarence—an incorrigible plotter. It allowed Edward to plunder his subjects mercilessly. He extorted from rich men what he called "Benevolences"—gifts of money. Having summoned them to his presence, he would state how much he expected, and they found it prudent to pay. These levies on the rich did not make Edward unpopular. The great land-owners had themselves often extorted money from the common people, who now had something akin to revenge in seeing the king plunder their old oppressors. Edward used much of the money to fit out an army to invade France. Clearly he had no nice scruples, for then he took a bribe from Louis XI of France

to abandon the war. Edward had two sides to his character. Against possible dangers he was alert and suspicious; on the other hand he was a careless pleasure-seeker, given to drunkenness and evil living. His habits ruined his health, and he died, in 1483, when only forty-one years old.

Edward V, 1483.—The reign of his son, a child, was to bring ruin to the House of York. Edward V was only thirteen, and his weak and foolish mother, Elizabeth Woodville, asserted the right to be protector of the kingdom during her son's minority. There was, however, another who claimed that place. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the only surviving brother of Edward IV, a prince now thirty-three years old, had been named in Edward's will as the guardian of his heir. He was able and resolute, and had tact and personal charm. He was, too, a brilliant soldier. He had always been loyal to his brother, Edward IV. But now Richard fell before a temptation specially strong in that cruel and ruthless age. He saw that he might become king if he could put out of the way his innocent nephew. At first, perhaps, he did not intend murder, but the story of Edward V becomes quickly a dark tragedy. Richard, as protector, lodged the young king in the Tower. Soon it was being said everywhere that the little prince was not the true heir. Stillington, Bishop of Bath, declared that he had himself officiated at a marriage contract between Edward IV and a certain Lady Butler, and that, in consequence, Edward's later marriage with Elizabeth Woodville was invalid. It was urged, in short, that, in default of lawful issue to Edward IV, Richard was the heir to the throne.

The Murder of Edward V.—Some of those friendly to Richard drew back when they saw his design. Among these was Lord Hastings, who had been one of the chief advisers of Edward IV. Then it was seen how hard Richard would strike. One day, at a council in the Tower, he suddenly bared a withered arm, declared that this deformity had been caused by the magic of his enemies, and

accused Hastings of being a party to it. Such a charge seems an almost incredible piece of stage-play, for it is probable that the arm had been deformed from Richard's youth. Nevertheless, Hastings was led at once to the courtyard and, without semblance of trial, was beheaded on a block of wood. Men began now to see that Richard would spare no one who stood in his path. The second son of Edward IV fell into his hands, and then the gates of the Tower closed for ever upon him and his brother, Edward V. Meanwhile, from the pulpit and in the market-place, the talk was repeated about the invalid character of Edward IV's supposed marriage. Then some of Richard's tools invited him to assume the crown which was rightfully his, and, after a show of hesitation, he accepted. On June 26th he was publicly proclaimed king, and Edward V ceased to rule even in name. But the young prince and his brother were a menace to the usurper, and they died a month or two after his accession, murdered, it was believed, though when or by whom was never known. Long after, in 1674, workmen found the skeletons of two boys at the foot of a staircase in the White Tower, and there is little doubt that the grave then gave up, at last, the secret of the guilty burial two hundred years earlier.

Richard III, 1483-1485.—Richard had secured the throne, but his crimes turned the nation against him. Cruel though Edward IV had been, he had struck down only the enemies of his line; Richard was destroying his own family. It must be said to the credit of Richard that he tried to rule well. His one Parliament condemned Edward IV's "Benevolences," proclaimed free trade in printed books, and discarded the old Norman-French, so that for the first time the laws of England were enacted in the English tongue. Parliament named Richard's son heir to the throne. But the scheme came to nothing for the young prince died suddenly. Richard's grief at his loss was terrible, and no doubt the lack of a direct heir helped to shake his authority. He made terms with the widow of Edward IV and, when

his own wife sickened and died, it was believed that he designed to marry his niece Elizabeth, the sister of the murdered princes. His distorted mind seemed to have lost all sense of fitness, and his best friends were compelled to tell him that the project was viewed with horror.

The Battle of Bosworth, 1485.—Another suitor for the young princess now appeared. Henry, Earl of Richmond, a son of the Welsh house of Tudor, was the heir of the Lancastrian line. (See Genealogies). He declared that, if he won the throne, he would marry Elizabeth, Edward IV's daughter, and unite for ever Lancaster and York. He landed on August 7th, 1485, among his own people in Wales, with some two thousand motley and disreputable foreign followers, mainly from Normandy. The struggle with Richard lasted but two weeks. Some of Richard's professed friends gave secret support to Henry, and on August 22nd the rivals met at Bosworth Field, near Leicester. Few were engaged on either side; probably so slight a struggle never before decided issues so great. Richard III, betrayed through his supposed friends, fell on the field. The crown which, in the strange fashion of kings, he wore (p. 148) had been carried off perhaps by a thief and was found hidden in a thorn bush. Sir William Stanley put it upon Richmond's head, and the army hailed the new king, Henry VII. On the same afternoon he entered Leicester in triumph, and the body of Richard III, stripped naked and thrown across the back of a horse, was part of the rude pageant of that day. Richard was the last of the Plantagenets. Long before, Richard I had said of his line, "From the devil we all came, and to the devil we all shall go." The last king's tragic wickedness and end form the darkest chapter in all the troubled history of his house.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIETY AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

1. THE LAWLESSNESS OF THE UPPER CLASSES

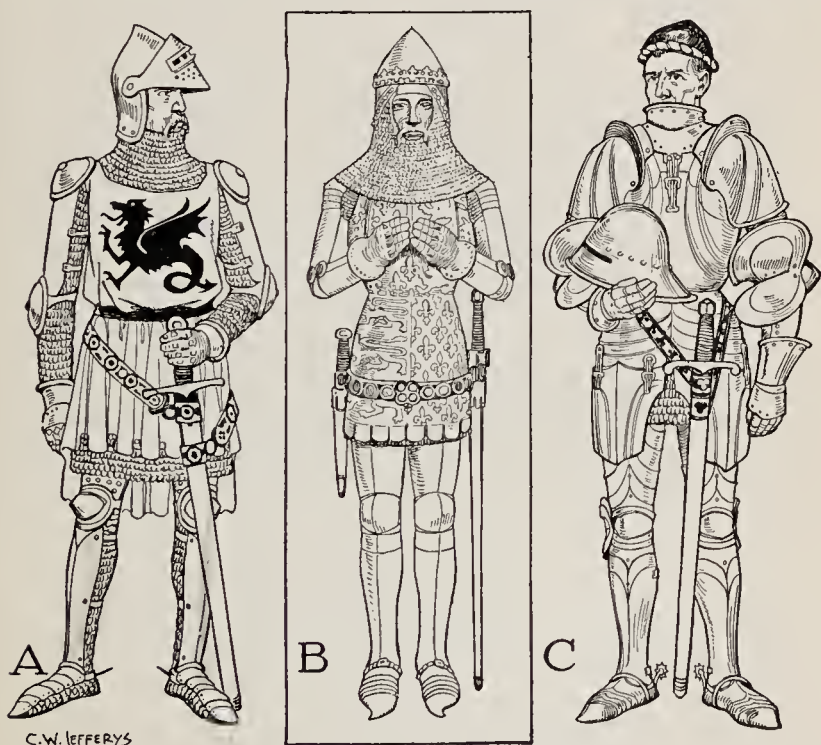
The Great Nobles.—The victory at Bosworth gave England a real master in the person of Henry VII. English kingship, now to be so powerful, had had a troubled history. Of the nine kings who had ruled since Edward I died, four were murdered, and a fifth escaped similar violence only by death in battle. Edward IV was the only prominent member of his family to die a natural death. His grandfather was executed; his father and his brother, Richard III, were killed in battle; Edward's other brother, Clarence, was executed, and his two sons were murdered, as were also his rival, Henry VI, and his son, the last of his line. The annals of England at this time are as sinister as those of some dark oriental court. For a long time the royal control was so relaxed that some of the nobles seemed to rival the king in power. Compared with the five or six hundred peers of the present time, the nobles of that day were few. Usually only about thirty sat in the House of Lords. They spent most of the year, not in town, but in the country, where they kept up regal pomp. The Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Buckingham kept their chancellors, chamberlains, treasurers, and cup-bearers, and were served on bended knee, with etiquette as rigid as that of royalty itself. Daily in the hall of his castle a great noble would have at his table hundreds of retainers, who wore his livery, and when need arose, quickly became soldiers, ready to fight under his banner. To check this was a chief task of the first of the Tudor kings. The Earl of Northumberland, head of the great Percy family which almost ruled in the North, had at least twenty castles, and we can form some idea of their magnificence from

Alnwick, which still endures. He issued mandates in the style of royal decrees; in his own district his authority counted for more than did that of the distant king. The Duke of Buckingham's estates yielded him a revenue equal, in modern values, to two hundred thousand pounds. Lesser barons were glad to send their sons to his court to receive knightly training. Around each castle was usually a great park, where the nobles amused themselves with the royal pastime of hunting.

The Violence of the Times.—During the unrest caused by the Wars of the Roses the nobles sometimes carried on war as if they were sovereigns. The Duke of Norfolk covets Caister, the castle of Sir John Fastolfe, and lays siege to it with an army of three thousand men. Day after day he batters the walls with his artillery. Finally, the besieged are allowed to march out with the honours of war. Society is torn by bloody factions. The son and the grandson of the Duke of Buckingham are walking in the streets of Coventry in the dusk of the evening, when Sir Robert Harecourt and his men attack and kill them both. In the affray which follows, two more perish and others are wounded. What the great men do, the lesser imitate with even more brutal violence. Discharged soldiers and even young men of good family rival Robin Hood, already accounted a romantic hero, and live by robbery. Farmers find it necessary to keep fierce dogs to protect their houses. Women are carried off and forced to marry their captors. Children are kidnapped and held for ransom. What we know as "lynching" is common. In the reign of Henry VI, before the civil war broke out, while one, John Grice, is entertaining some friends, armed men surround the house and carry off Grice, his son, and his servant. Unable to find a rope with which to hang their victims, they cut them to pieces, and the crime appears to have gone unpunished. Two or three years later, we find one Serjeant Paston, a lawyer of Norwich, threatened with the death and dismemberment which befell Grice, if he shows too great zeal in a certain lawsuit. Paston does not appeal to the king for

protection, but to the great Duke of Norfolk, and at last bargains with his enemies for his safety. The chivalry of the crusading days had lost all vigour; a little later Cervantes made its fantastic code ridiculous in the satire of *Don Quixote*. Yet even a fantastic code was better than the cold-blooded treachery, the ruthless butchery of even prisoners of rank, which stain the annals of the Wars of the Roses.

Arms and Armour.—The equipment of the warrior had gradually changed. In the days of King Richard Lion-

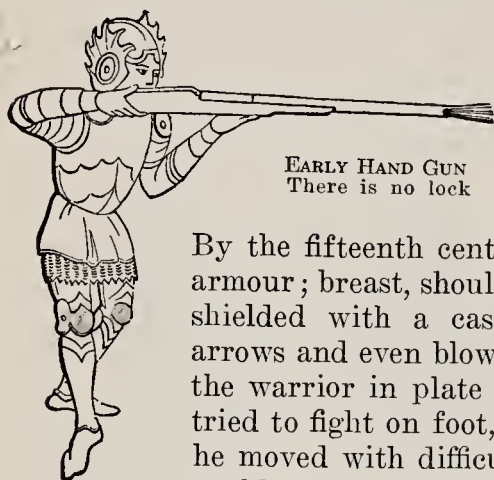


ARMOUR OF THE 14TH AND 15TH CENTURIES

- A. Mail (steel rings or chain) reinforced at exposed places with steel plates; linen surcoat with armorial device; helmet with movable visor; loose sword belt. (Early 14th cent.)
- B. From tomb of Black Prince, Canterbury; hood of mail to shoulders worn under pointed helmet; close fitting surcoat; tight belt. (End of 14th cent.)
- C. Effigy of Richard Beauchamp at Warwick; not mail but plate armour, hinged and riveted; leather hood with twisted brim to relieve weight of heavy helmet. (Middle of 15th century.)

heart, a knight wore chain mail. This consisted of a long tunic, known as the hauberk, of leather or cloth covered with rings or plates of steel; often in one piece with it was a hood drawn over the head. Such a warrior carried in his left hand a shield, sometimes three or four feet long, and often decorated with his own coat of arms; in his right

hand he bore a spear, while at his side hung a sword. He required great skill to manage his horse and at the same time to use spear and shield with effect.



By the fifteenth century we find heavy plate armour; breast, shoulders, arms, and legs were shielded with a casing of steel, on which arrows and even blows had little effect. When the warrior in plate armour dismounted and tried to fight on foot, as he did at Agincourt, he moved with difficulty. If once he fell, he could not rise, and then he was easily van-

quished by plebeian foemen who wore no armour. Only the well-to-do could afford the costly equipment of plate armour. After the use of firearms began, it became obsolete. It was, however, still worn long after the close of the Middle Ages.

2. THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

Religion.—During the fifteenth century morals sank to a low ebb. In the time of Lanfranc and Anselm, bishops and abbots had been appointed because of their godly character. Now such posts were gained by family influence, and the chief ecclesiastics were members of the great baronial houses. A social gulf yawned between them and the people. The clergy were very numerous. Friars still went about from parish to parish, preaching and begging. Their influence had, however, declined, for few of them now showed the zeal to relieve suffering and need

which had made Saint Francis of Assisi so beloved. There were signs of religious unrest. A writer of the period says that, in the time of Henry IV, every other man was a Wycliffite. This, however, cannot be true. The parish priests, if not the friars, still wielded great influence; to a foreign visitor the clergy seemed to rule the country. Many beautiful churches were built in the fifteenth century and endowed with great riches. To stay away from church was still punished by fine, and observers were struck by the reverent demeanour of the people. Yet great changes were coming. In earlier times devout men of wealth had often shown their munificence by founding religious houses; now it was colleges and hospitals which they built. As early as in the days of Richard II, William of Wykeham founded New College, Oxford, and the first English public school, Winchester. A little later, the saintly Henry VI founded King's College, Cambridge, and Eton College. Some of the monasteries were already half empty, and there were towns in which education was no longer in the hands of the priests.

The Prevention of Crime.—It is clear that those who tried in this age to preserve order had much to do. In nothing does the whole period of the Middle Ages contrast more sharply with modern times than in the method of dealing with crime. In a mediæval village the men were divided into groups of ten, called "tithings," and the members of each tithing were responsible for one another's conduct. They took a formal obligation, called the "frank-pledge," to discharge this police duty. Every villager was required to join a tithing. Other methods of preventing crime were also tried. To prevent outrage after dark at a time when the people hated the foreign master, William the Conqueror had introduced into England the curfew; when the church bell rang in the evening, the people were to close their doors and not to go out again. Yet evildoers still went abroad in the dark, and it often happened that they murdered husband and wife, sons and daughters, in

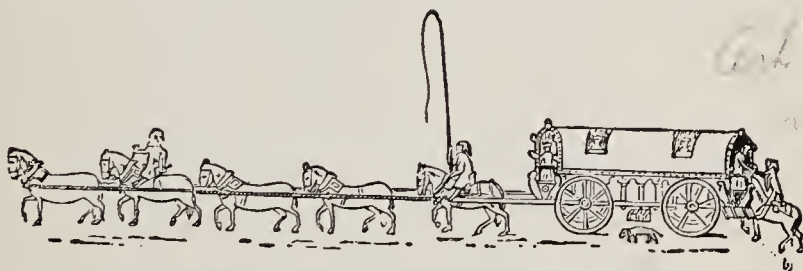
some lonely house, and carried off anything worth taking. When an evil deed was discovered and the alarm was raised, it was every man's duty to join this "hue and cry," and to track the criminal down if he could. But to capture those who had done their work in the silence of the night was not easy, for the peasants were busy with their own toil, and were so stolid in their ignorance as not to be greatly concerned to aid the cause of justice.

Trial by Jury and the Ordeal.—The mode of dealing with accused persons was also vastly different from that of our own age. Trial by jury, the germ of which we find under Henry II (p. 82), slowly changed its character. At first the jurors were themselves the witnesses in a case, but in time they were obliged to take the evidence of others as to points on which they had no personal knowledge, and thus the jury, as we know it, was developed. The new method of trial was needed. Under the old system of the ordeal (p. 39), a man accused of crime was deemed innocent if he plunged his arm into boiling water and it was found, when uncovered later, not to have festered. The Normans had brought to England another kind of ordeal—that of trial by battle. If one man accused another, the two, armed with weapons like short pickaxes, fought until one forced the other to yield. It was assumed that the God of Battles would give victory to the one who was in the right. As early as 1215 the ordeal was falling into disuse, and trial by jury was growing in favour. Yet for many more centuries an accused man might refuse trial by jury, and under the law he could not be so tried until his consent was given. The law permitted force to be used to compel his consent. He was asked, "How will you be tried?" and if he answered, "By God and my country," which meant by a jury, his trial proceeded. But if he refused this answer, he was liable to torture under heavy weights, until he either died from this *peine forte et dure*, or consented. An accused man might see that hanging was inevitable if he should be tried by a jury, and might prefer the terrible

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suffering of being pressed to death, since then he would die unconvicted, and his property would go to his family and not be forfeited to the state.

Means of Communication—During the Middle Ages the outward aspect of England changed but little. At the close of the period the population was probably smaller than it had been during the Roman occupation. Much of the land was still covered by vast forests, in which roamed great herds of deer. The wild boar, the wild goat, and the wild cat, now unknown in England, were still to be found; the beaver, though scarce, was not extinct, and the wolves were numerous. Roads and means of communication had grown worse instead of better. In earlier times the villeins and



LADY'S CHARIOT, 14TH CENTURY

The many horses are due to the cumbrous vehicle and the bad roads; the pace must have been very slow

freemen on the manor had been held to the task of repairing the roads and bridges, but now much of this work was left to chance. Rochester Bridge, for instance, remained in a dangerous state, generation after generation. An Aylesbury miller, desiring clay to repair his mill, dug it from the highway and made a hole ten feet wide and eight deep. This soon filled with water, and one night a passing wayfarer and his horse fell into it and were drowned. A jury acquitted the miller, since the road seemed to be the only place where he could get the required clay! The great forests held moisture in the soil, and the slower drainage kept the rivers larger than they are now and made them more easily navigable. To cross them was, however, difficult. Bridges were few, and travellers who crossed at fords

were often in danger from the frequent floods. Because the roads were too bad for vehicles, goods were taken to inland points on mules or horses. This practice made it difficult to carry such a bulky commodity as grain to places which could not be reached by boat, with the result that the price of grain varied greatly at different centres. It might command famine prices in the north and be cheap in the south.

Agriculture.—Farmers grew only a few varieties of vegetables and grasses. Cattle were often fed on moss, ivy, and the loppings of trees. Owing to the scarcity of fodder, comparatively few cattle were kept through the winter. No attempt was made to improve breeds. It is probable that an ox or a cow was little more than half the size of similar cattle to-day. A team of eight and sometimes of twelve oxen was required to draw a plough. Ploughing was still a mere scratching of the surface; and since the value of fertilization was little understood, the soil had become so poor that eight or nine bushels to the acre were regarded as a fair crop. The farmer thus reaped but little more than four times what he sowed. Rents were low; a carpenter could earn in a day the fourpence sufficient to pay the rent of an acre of arable land for a year; and a tangled waste of gorse or furze, because of the fuel which it provided, was of more value than land for farming.

The Effect of the Wool Trade.—For one commodity there was a steady market. English wool found ready sale, and when Henry VII became king, the English farmer was beginning to use a great part of his exhausted land for the pasturing of sheep. Where the land was devoted to grazing, few labourers were needed. In consequence, many were dismissed, and manors which had sustained a thriving population were sometimes left with few inhabitants. Riots and disorder troubled the villages when the labourers were thrown out of work, but such changes were inevitable and in the end wrought good. When used for pasture, the land had the rest it needed. Moreover, owing to low prices, a

humble freeman was now sometimes able to rent a whole manor, and, instead of a lord of the manor, the village then had a leader who was himself a working farmer, often well-to-do and hospitable. While the great lords were destroying one another, this "frankleyn" farmed his acres and became a man of substance. During the fifteenth century the class was more numerous in England than in any other European country.

3. THE RISE OF THE ENGLISH TOWN

The Liberties of the Towns.—In earlier times England had been mainly agricultural; now she had become, also, a manufacturing country. Cloth made from her own excellent wool was her great staple of manufacture, but she had, also, iron mines and forges; she made guns and stately ships. The Low Countries, long the more important in trade, had begun to decline, and England was becoming the industrial centre of northern Europe. The towns now multiplied; and their first care was to secure the right of self-government. Usually the lord of the manor had the right to control any town which had grown up on his estate. He could levy tolls and charge fees for the right to buy and sell. But step by step the towns either bought such rights or gained their freedom under charter from the king. The townsmen were keenly alive to the interests of their little community. They took turns in watching the streets at night; they had common rights of pasturage on the town meadow; in some cases the whole body of townsmen was responsible for the debts of each of its members. The community, too, often provided passion plays and other amusements. The townsmen sometimes controlled the church and even claimed as their own the sums paid for masses.

The Guilds.—The guilds were prominent in the life of the towns. A guild was a voluntary brotherhood for the aid and protection of its members, and the name is possibly derived from the gold, or fee, which they paid to carry out their purposes. As trade developed in a town, the guild of merchants was likely to secure control of all trading

privileges. The guild members might trade freely, while on others payments and restrictions would be imposed. Since a Merchant Guild held sometimes a valuable monopoly in a branch of trade, it is no wonder that such guilds grew rich, and that the Guild Hall often became the centre of civic life. Artisans, too, organized their own Craft Guilds, which excluded all but members from any share in their branch of handiwork. No doubt, the guilds, strong in their privileges, were often selfish and tyrannical. But since they had not to cheapen their work to meet competition, they had little temptation to do bad work, and usually they gave good measure and good quality. Like modern benefit and insurance societies, they took care of their members, and they also gave money to aid education. To this day some of the guilds survive in London and use their abundant revenues for the public benefit. Though declining at the close of the Middle Ages, they were still strong and guarded their privileges jealously. It was difficult for an outsider to join even the guilds of the trained artisans; usually only the sons of existing members might enter. When Parliament itself did not do so, the guilds regulated the rate of wages.

The Risks of Commerce.—The townsmen united for defence, especially in the seaports, for the sea was infested with pirates, who could easily land and set fire to the flimsy houses of the town, and who made unsafe even the crossing of the Thames near London. The products of England found an increased market in Europe. Foreign ships had long been the chief carriers of English wares, but by the time of Richard III England was building a merchant marine. As yet there was no royal navy to protect her commerce on the sea; this was to be the creation of Henry VIII. In order to be safe, ships sailed in company, but there was always danger. Marauders of a supposedly friendly nation sometimes seized cargo and ship and hanged crew and passengers on the yards of their own vessels. There were perils, too, from the king's uncertain

exactions and from the fraud and malice of rival traders. Insurance was hardly known, and, to a preacher of the time, the merchant with his load of care, from which he gets no relief, is the type of the sinner burdened with sin. Yet many a trader grew rich; by the end of the fifteenth century, there were merchants in some English towns who lived in such splendid state that it seemed to a village poet worthy of the Lord of Heaven himself.

The Traders and the Nobles.—If in this age the townsman was growing steadily richer, some of the great lords, engaged in war, were growing poorer as the fifteenth century advanced. They still commanded outward deference. A great train followed them. The bells of a parish were rung as a noble passed through it. When his name was mentioned in an assembly of commoners, they doffed their hats in reverence. But the towns, not the nobles, had now the power of money. The great Warwick, with vast estates and wealth of plate and fine clothes, is yet found begging a small loan of ready cash. A trader's daughter sometimes married into the landed class, and though received with something like disdain in her husband's circle, she could still contrast the magnificence of her father's house with the signs of poverty about her. In the town itself there were distinctions of rank and caste, the wool merchant being apt to look down upon other traders.

4. ARCHITECTURE AND SOCIAL LIFE

The Norman Architecture.—The spirit of a people expresses itself in its buildings, and mediæval England has a notable record in architecture. Before the Norman Conquest most of the buildings were of wood, but the Normans despised this primitive material and reared massive structures in stone. The Romans had been great builders, and the Norman used the round Roman arch, but his work was rougher, his walls were thicker, his pillars heavier, than those of Rome. He had nothing to equal the Roman mortar, more enduring in some cases than the stones which it held

together, and at first his primitive carving was done with an axe. But his work improved rapidly. Taught, perhaps, by the returning crusaders, who had seen better architecture in other lands, the Norman builder soon matured his style, and the lavish ornament which he bestowed on



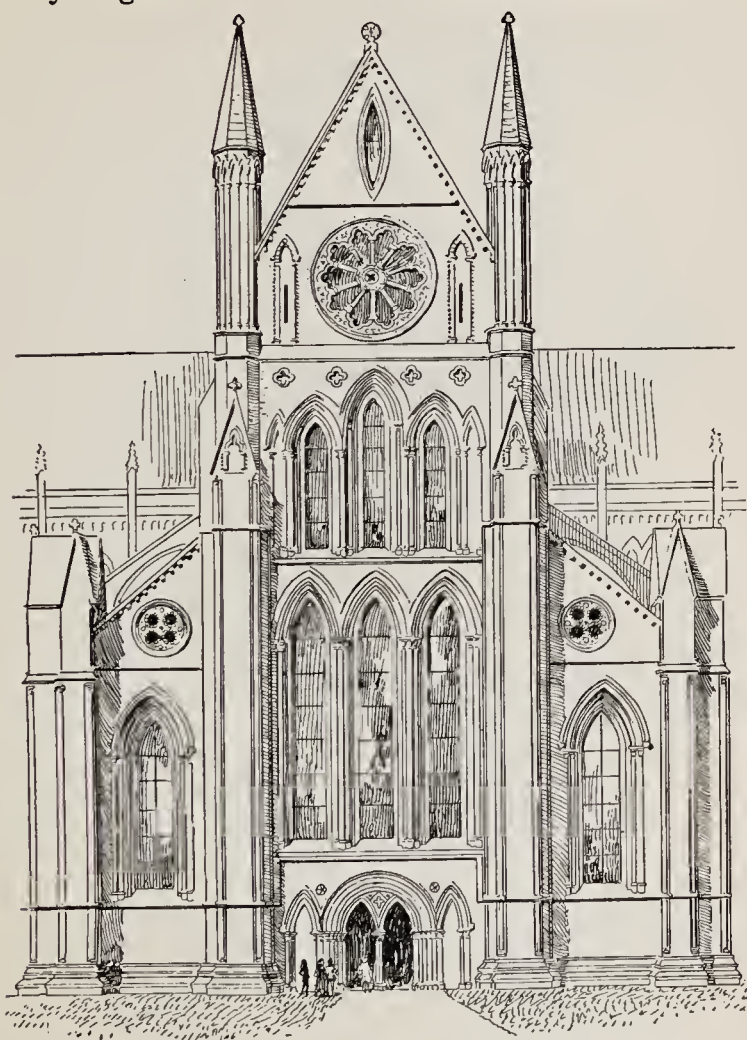
ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL, TOWER OF LONDON

Early Norman style, built soon after Conquest; round arches; barrel vault roof; heavy columns; wide joints between the stones

even tiny country churches surprises us still. In vast structures, such as Durham Cathedral, and in small ones, such as Iffley Church, the same wealth of care is to be found. We wonder how villages, poor as we know them to have been, could bear the cost of the many beautiful Norman churches which were built. The bishop had power to

order the erection of a church, and, apparently, the villagers were compelled to find the means to obey; for it was usually they, and not some great man or monastery, who met the cost of erecting a village church.

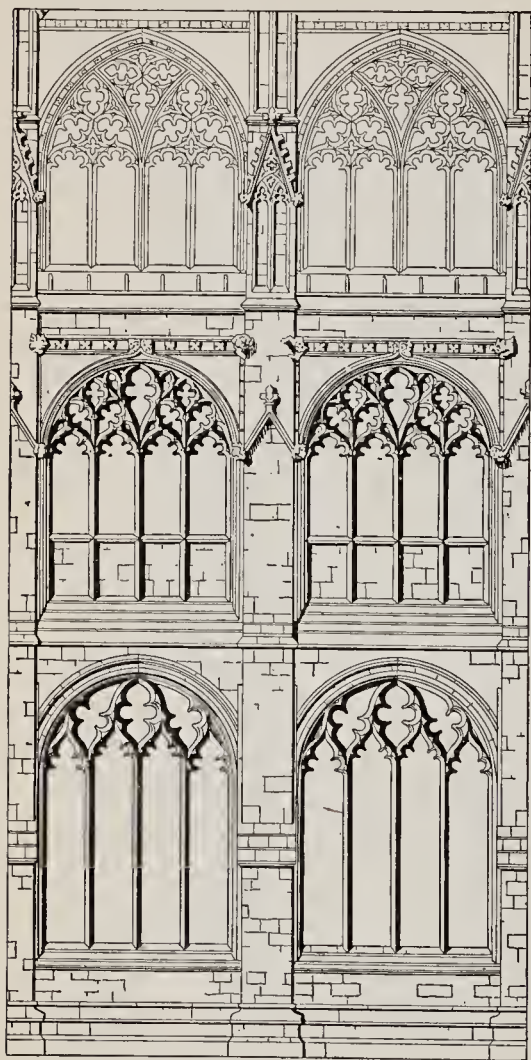
Early English Gothic and Decorated Gothic.—The de-



TRANSEPT OF BEVERLEY MINSTER, YORK

Early English Gothic architecture, 1230; narrow, single lancet windows; slender shafts clustered round doors, windows, and pinnacles; effect of lightness and grace, compared with the Norman, of which traces remain in the round windows and circular arch of main doorway

votion to the round-arched Norman architecture continued for a hundred years; but when, in 1174, Canterbury Cathedral was partly destroyed by fire, the architect who



CHOIR OF ELY CATHEDRAL, EXTERIOR
Decorated Gothic, 1325; windows divided by
mullions into varied shapes; flowing lines
of the stone tracery

century had passed, and about the time when Edward I

rebuilt it made great use of the pointed arch. The style was wholly new, and was called, in derision, "Gothic," after the early barbarian conquerors of Italy. But its convenience and beauty were quickly recognized and, from the reign of John, the buildings in England during a hundred years are in the "Early English" phase of this style. New mouldings and ornaments, clustered shafts, and delicately carved foliage soon appeared. The high, pointed arches and the long, narrow windows carried the eye upward, in contrast with the horizontal lines of the Norman style. After a further

succeeded to the throne, the "Early English" Gothic had developed into something more elaborate, known as the "Decorated." The windows were adorned with varied and graceful tracery in stone and were filled with stained glass—one of the beautiful products of the time. A "Decorated" church gave fine effects in both lines and colour.

The Perpendicular Gothic.—Fashion, however, changes in architecture, as in all else. By the time of Richard II the "Perpendicular" style had supplanted the "Decorated," and this style lasted to the time of Henry VIII. The style is peculiar to England and is in sharp contrast with the earlier Gothic. A beautiful complexity of lines in the tracery of the window-openings is no longer sought. In large windows, planned to admit floods of light, lines cross each other at right angles wherever possible; the heads of the arches are almost square. Vaulted stone roofs show exquisite fan tracery, massive in weight, but light and graceful in appearance. The "Perpendicular" is the last stage of Gothic architecture; no further development was possible.

The Mediæval Castle.—In the early Norman period a baronial castle consisted usually of a great, square keep, with massive stone walls, sometimes thirty feet thick at the base. Before the use of gunpowder had brought danger from artillery, such a place might hold out as long as its occupants had food and drink. It was surrounded by a ditch, or moat, filled with water if possible, across which was thrown a drawbridge, in troubled times lowered only with great caution. These castles were cramped and comfortless, and the walls were so thick that but little light could penetrate through the narrow openings to the small rooms. As society became more settled, the cheerless Norman keep gave place to something more attractive. By the time of Edward I, we have what is called the Edwardian castle. It stood often on some high hill where defence would be easy, and was reached by a winding road. At the entrance was an imposing gateway, itself a tower of defence;

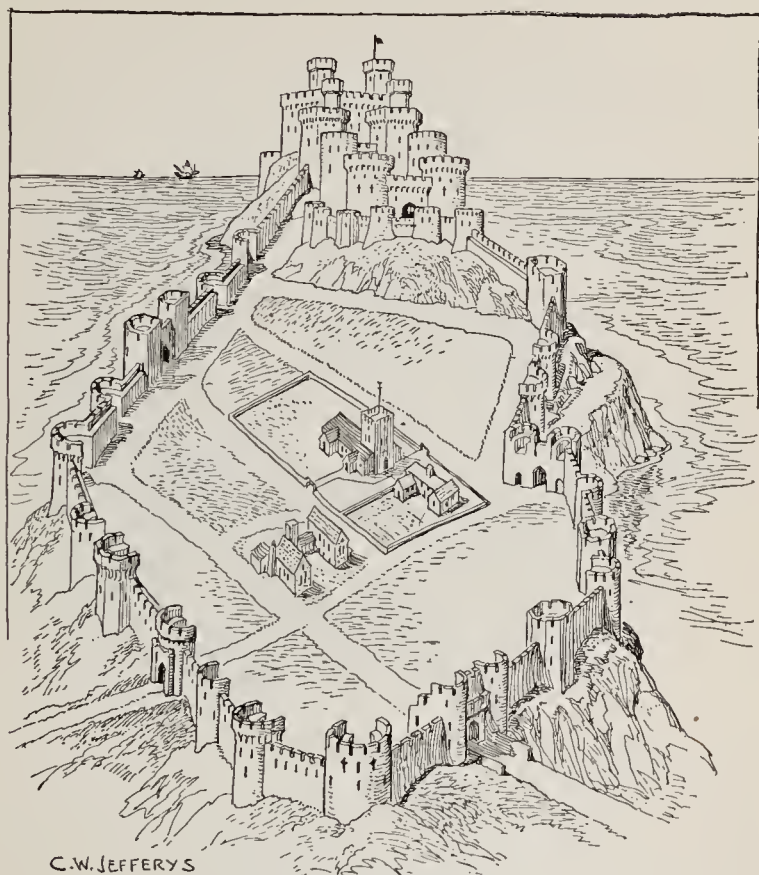
sometimes a second and a third moat and wall must be passed before the inner courtyard was reached. Here were



INTERIOR OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

Perpendicular Gothic, about 1400; broad window; upright bars running through to arch in straight lines; rich ornamentation centred in a few places; elaborate vaulting of roof; style peculiar to England

to be found, at last, not merely the hall and the few cell-like bed-chambers of the earlier, ruder age, but a dwelling-house which, in time, became comfortable. Such castles were very costly to build and maintain. They were, indeed,



CASTLE AT THE TIME OF EDWARD I

Large space with church enclosed by curtain walls; loopholes; numerous towers each capable of separate defence; projecting battlements of towers so as to be able to drop missiles on assailants

fortresses, with a considerable garrison, and most of them passed into the hands of the king or into those of a few nobles who had his license. The Wars of the Roses, which tended to revive the power of the nobles, led some of them to fortify their residences. Artillery was, however, making

the castle of little use in war, and at the close of the Middle Ages the richer nobles lived in sumptuous palaces, built without much thought of military defence.

The Manor House.—The village squire, or lord of the manor, lived in the manor house, and its style of building changed as did that of the castle. The old English manor-house was often a “moated grange,” that is, a house surrounded for defence by a moat, crossed by a drawbridge. Sometimes the hall had towers for defence in days of



STOKESAY CASTLE

Fortified manor house, 13th century; moat; entrance, not visible, by draw-bridge; lies close to parish church

disorder. The house slowly changed. At last there were rooms with large windows; the walls were often richly wainscotted; we find fireplaces, instead of the former hearth-stone in the centre of the floor; and comfort, rather than defence during war, was becoming the chief end in view. Merchants in the towns lived in considerable state before the close of the Middle Ages. Canning's house at Bristol, with its tiled floors, rich hangings, and beautiful stained glass, shows how pleasing a rich trader's surroundings might be. Yet we still notice much that is

poor and mean. Guests slept many in a bed, and furniture was so scanty that a few pounds would provide the outfit for a well-to-do household. No trader's house appears to have had a library. The chief patrons of literature were the nobles.

Social Habits.—From many signs it appears that the English were better fed than their neighbours in continental Europe; a writer of the fifteenth century notes their good farms, abundant food, clothing, and bed-covering, in contrast with the condition of the French of the same rank. Meat was cheap, and the English were heavy meat-eaters. The hours for meals differed greatly from those of the present time. Every one rose with the sun, and the work of the day was well advanced when the dinner-hour came at nine o'clock. Soon after the evening meal at about five o'clock, the family went to bed. Artificial light was meagre and dear, and men's occupations were generally completed by the light of day. Soap was so dear that the common people could not get it. In the average household there were still no forks or plates, though persons of rank sometimes used both.

Health.—The health of England undoubtedly improved during this age. Yet the country was rarely free from pestilence, and the rate of mortality was high. The span of life was short; as few people lived to be forty in those days as now live to be seventy. On the other hand, it is a noteworthy fact that, by this time, leprosy, which is caused by unclean habits, had almost disappeared from England. After 1464, epidemics, such as the Black Death (p. 123), no more desolated the whole country, but were confined to the towns. In 1485 a new malady, known as the "Sweating Sickness," appeared and is said to have been brought to England by the rabble army which won the victory of Bosworth Field. Though singularly fatal, it attacked mainly the well-to-do classes, who were given to high living, and it fell far short of the devastating character of the Black Death. Medical knowledge had as yet made

little advance. The stars and the moon were thought to have more to do with healing than careful treatment of the disease.

The Use of English.—During the Middle Ages the English language was the tongue of the common people. French was the language of the polite world and was used not merely in society, but also in the law courts and in Parliament. As early as 1365, however, it had been ordered that the proceedings of the law courts, hitherto in French, should be in English. Parliament, too, was opened with an English speech. Yet, for a long time, the debates were continued in French, and the Acts of Parliament were drawn up in that language; not until 1484 were they drawn up in English. Of this tongue there were three principal dialects—the Northern, the Midland, and the Southern. The chief commercial centre, London, and the two great universities, Oxford and Cambridge, used the same dialect of English—the Midland—and their influence, strengthened by that of Chaucer, who wrote in this dialect, made in time the Midland dialect the standard English speech. Yet men of letters were long uncertain whether English was a worthy medium for their thoughts. John Gower, a dull poet of the age of Chaucer, wrote in three languages, Latin, French, and English, and during the two hundred years between Chaucer and Shakespeare a writer in England was as likely to use Latin as English. It was the combined weight of these two mighty literary names that first gave English the rank of a classic tongue.

The Invention of Printing.—Two momentous changes came near the end of the fifteenth century. One—the discovery of America—fell in the reign of Henry VII. Then vast new lands were opened to European effort, and after this appearance of a new continent no longer could the Mediterranean remain the central sea for world commerce. The other change was in the invention of printing. Hitherto copies of books had been made laboriously by hand. Now the printing press began to multiply them by hundreds and to spread in a circle ever widening the

ideas which they contained. England has not the honour of this invention; it was made in Germany by Gutenberg, about 1450. But an Englishman, William Caxton, learned the art in Germany, and in 1477 began to print books in England. Caxton, who was an educated man, the friend of Edward IV and Richard III, not only himself set the type and printed the sheets from a hand-press, but he also translated from Latin and French many of the books which he issued. The extent of his work is amazing. In the short period of fourteen years he printed no fewer than

**And sayd he that gedreth and assembleth moche siluer
ought not to be called rich, but he that dispendeth it wor-
shipfully and laudably. And som asked him howe one
might kepe him from nede, and he answered if men be riche
let hem lyue temperately, and sobriely, and if they be poore
lete hem laboure diligently, Than some asked him of howe
moche goode aman ought to be content, And he answered
to haue so moche as he neded nat to flatter nor borrowe of o-
ther. And sayd to his disciples, When ye shal be Wery**

A SPECIMEN OF CAXTON'S PRINTING

This is from the first book printed in England, "The Dictis and Sayings of the Philosophers"

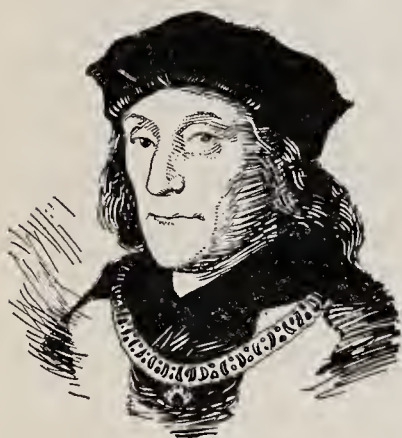
eighty books. Earl Rivers, father of Edward IV's queen, was one of his co-workers; so also was John Tiptoft, Earl of Woreester. These men show the strange contrasts of the age. In politics they were on the side of the House of York, and both perished on the scaffold. Both, also, devoted laborious days to study. Tiptoft was as ruthlessly cruel as an Italian despot of the time. As judge, he executed hundreds of the enemies of Edward IV, including even the infant sons of the Earl of Desmond. Yet this same man moved Pope Pius II to tears by the eloquence of his beautiful Latin. He visited the Holy Land and Italy and took back to England so many books that he is said to have despoiled the Italian libraries.

CHAPTER IX

THE TUDOR MONARCHY

1. THE RESTORATION OF ORDER BY HENRY VII

Henry VII, 1485-1509.—The victor at Bosworth, Henry VII, though only twenty-eight, was already old in experience. A fugitive since childhood in foreign lands, or a captive in his own, he had learned caution, and now he



HENRY VII

faced, with great skill and tact, the heavy task of reducing a troubled realm to order. He must end a long period of unrest and the danger of renewed civil war, and show great nobles that he was master. To do this he must have behind him the support of the common people. These wished a strong king, for only under firm rule could they be sure of the peace and

quiet which they eagerly desired. Throughout his reign Henry found that the masses were with him. Yet they never really loved him. He was pleasant and courtly in manners, religious, scholarly, sometimes mildly humorous, but he could not be jovial and hearty, like bluff, handsome Edward IV, and he was so prudent and saving that he came to be looked upon as a miser.

The Dangers of Henry VII.—Henry married Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV, and in their son, afterwards Henry VIII, were united at last the claims of the rival houses. Some of the Yorkists would not accept this union as settling the old dispute, and for a dozen years

Henry was sorely troubled by their attacks. Two impostors, first Lambert Simnel, who called himself Edward, Earl of Warwick, the son of Clarence, and then Perkin Warbeck, who pretended to be the younger brother of Edward V, were put forward by the Yorkists as claimants for the throne. Simnel was a mere boy, the tool of others; the real Warwick was a prisoner in England. Yet in 1487 great Yorkist prelates and nobles in Ireland took part in Simnel's coronation at Dublin as King Edward VI. Later he fell into Henry's hands, and in contempt was made a servant in the royal kitchen. Perkin Warbeck was more formidable. He was received on the continent and in Scotland as the true king of England, and for eight years kept Henry uneasy. In the end he was executed (1499). The English people showed that they would not have renewed civil war. All attacks on Henry failed, and he made his position secure. He watched the baronial class closely. He gave high office, not to the old nobility, but to new men of the middle class. A good many of the noble families lost their lands, either by forfeiture or by incurring ruinous fines for plotting against the king; and sometimes their estates were bought by merchants and traders—classes which were becoming steadily more important in England.

Livery and Maintenance.—The great nobles had been accustomed to keep about them hordes of retainers, who wore the livery, or uniform, of their lord and were ready to fight for him in any tumult. He, in turn, was pledged to maintain their cause when they took action against others, or were themselves assailed, either by open force or in the law courts. Such retainers formed an armed body, likely, in their own or in their lord's interest, to set the laws at defiance. Previous rulers had tried to check these evils, but it was Henry who succeeded. In 1487 he passed the Statute of Livery and Maintenance, which imposed heavy penalties on those who kept up bands of retainers.

The Court of Star Chamber.—Henry's merit was that he enforced the laws. He formed a committee of his council

into a new court, which came ultimately to be known as the Star Chamber. Its chief business was to try powerful offenders. Henry sent few victims to the scaffold, but he made those who broke the law pay fines so heavy as, in some cases, to be ruinous. Two lawyers, Dudley and Empson, hunted down law-breakers with great skill, and the king reaped enormous profits from the fines imposed. Sometimes Henry himself acted as informer. He visited the Earl of Oxford, an old and tried friend who had fought for him at Bosworth, and on leaving the castle found two long lines of men in livery drawn up to do him honour. When he expressed wonder that Oxford should need so many domestic servants, his host told him that the men in his uniform were not servants but retainers who had been summoned for this service. The king's answer was that he could not permit the law thus to be violated, and it is said that Oxford was fined the enormous sum of 15,000 marks, quite equal to £100,000 at the present day.

2. RELATIONS OF HENRY VII WITH IRELAND AND SCOTLAND

The Despotism of Henry.—Henry was really a despot. No doubt, the belief that Parliament alone might make laws and vote taxes was deeply rooted in the life of the English. But, for the time, Parliament had little influence in contrast with what it had enjoyed under Henry IV (p. 144). Henry called it only seven times in his long reign of twenty-four years, and since he summoned it only to impose new burdens in taxes, the nation was glad that it should meet rarely. Henry worked hard as a ruler, piled up vast wealth, kept free from foreign war, and tried to make his position stronger still by wise alliances.

The Stuart Line in Scotland.—With her neighbour, Scotland, England had been at strife for centuries. The northern kingdom had had a troubled history. There was a profound division of race between the Celtic clans of the Highlands and the Teutons, who had mastered the Lowlands as they had mastered England. The country, too,

was divided by mountains and arms of the sea, so that the separate clans and the great landholders were able to maintain a proud independence, and often defied and warred on the king. Those who held high offices of state handed them down to their heirs; thus the hereditary stewards became, in the end, the royal Stuart line (p. 145). The first two Stuarts, Robert II (1371-1390) and Robert III (1390-1406), were not strong kings. It is a striking fact that every one of their successors, for more than two hundred years, became sovereign when still a child,* and this condition lasted until Charles I inherited the throne in 1625. The result was that the turbulent nobles were continually struggling for mastery. In foreign affairs Scotland was led by France and warred on England when France did. The country was very backward. In the Highlands, roads were almost unknown. Not until 1411, more than two hundred years after the founding of Oxford, was the first Scottish university, that of St. Andrews, established. The Highlanders were still half barbarous, while the border region adjoining England was swept incessantly by cruel border wars.

Union of the Tudor and Stuart Lines.—The Yorkist enemies of Henry VII had found in James IV of Scotland a steadfast friend. He welcomed the pretender, Perkin Warbeck, and gave him in marriage a woman of rank, Lady Catherine Gordon. Happy relations between the two countries seemed still far away. Yet the foundation of such relations was now being laid. Henry's far-seeing tact brought about a union of the Tudor and Stuart houses in marriage. In 1503 his daughter Margaret married James

*THE STUART KINGS OF SCOTLAND TO JAMES VI

Robert II	.....b.	1316	—	reign	1371-1390
Robert III	.....b.	1340?	—	"	1390-1406
James I	.....b.	1394	—	"	1406-1437
James II	.....b.	1430	—	"	1437-1460
James III	.....b.	1451	—	"	1460-1488
James IV	.....b.	1473	—	"	1488-1513
James V	.....b.	1512	—	"	1513-1542
Mary, Queen of Scots	...b.	1542	—	"	1542-1567
James VI (I of England)	b.	1566	—	"	1567-1625

IV of Scotland; and it was through her that the Scottish royal line, the Stuarts, came in time to rule England. When the marriage was planned, Henry was asked if there was not a danger that England might become an appendage of the Scottish crown. "No," said the sage king, "Scotland will become an appendage of the English crown, for the smaller must follow the larger kingdom."

Poyning's Law, 1494.—In regard to Ireland, Henry's aim was to make his control real. The native Irish had never accepted English rulers, and even the English colony (p. 127) made Ireland a stronghold of Yorkist rebels. The impostors who attacked Henry VII always found an eager welcome there, and Henry saw that he must do something to make his authority secure. He sent over, therefore, an able governor, Sir Edward Poynings. Poynings, a brilliant soldier, promptly checked the Yorkist element, and he made a beginning in the conquest of the native Irish outside the Pale. He is chiefly famous because, in 1494, he enforced a measure, known ever since as Poynings' Law, which provided that existing laws in force in England should apply also to Ireland, and that the Irish Parliament might pass no law not first approved by the king's council in England. Poynings' Law robbed Ireland of even the shadowy independence that the people of the Pale had once enjoyed. Less than ever could she pursue her own natural development.

3. THE RENAISSANCE IN ENGLAND

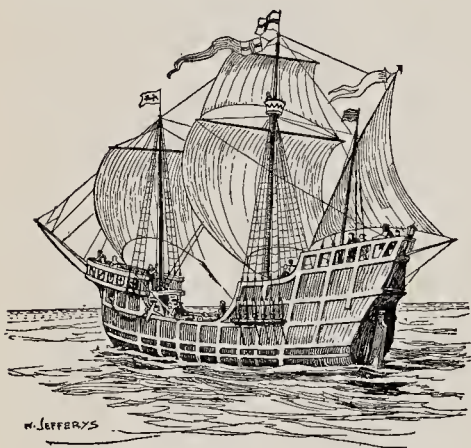
When Henry VII died in 1509, England was vastly different from the turbulent realm of Edward IV. The Middle Ages had ended, and we find an awakening of thought which is still vital in our modern life. So striking is this change in spirit that we call this great movement the Renaissance—the new birth. Men threw off old restraints and faced new tasks. The great work of the Middle Ages had been to train, under the civilizing influence of the Christian faith, the barbarian peoples who had broken up the Roman Empire. It was a rough task. In performing

it the church had insisted that ready obedience to her teaching was the only safe guide. In that age of faith, great cathedrals, vast monasteries, and thousands of beautiful churches were reared, and we wonder still at the zeal which created them. But the time came when this zeal seemed to have exhausted itself. Men began to debate new problems, to think and to judge for themselves more freely, to take less interest in merely religious questions, to inquire into the past, to travel, to reason, to dispute, to write. The age of tutelage had passed; Europe was now to show that its thinkers had arrived at a manhood which was sometimes rebellious against old modes of thought.

The Humanist Movement.—The Renaissance was a long, slow movement. We find its influence as early as the thirteenth century. One of its first fruits was the revived interest in ancient Greece and Rome, whose treasures of art and letters Europe had half-forgotten. During the Middle Ages the Greek language, with its noble literature, was little more than a memory in Western Europe. For a long time it seemed as if some barrier separated the East from the West; but by the year 1400 there were Italian scholars keenly engaged in studying the literature of ancient Greece. A little later, in 1453, when the Turks captured Constantinople, the old Greek capital of the East, some of its scholars found refuge in the West, where they aided the growing zeal for the study of antiquity. The movement began in Italy, but soon extended farther. In the days when Henry VII was subduing the turbulence of the English nobles, English scholars were going to Italy to sit there at the feet of men who taught them the Greek tongue, kindled their zeal for the new liberty of the mind, and sent them back to England to preach what they had learned. The church teachers we know as divines, because they dealt with the things of God; these new teachers dealt as well with human affairs and human nature, and we call them humanists. All that concerned man appealed to

them; this eager humanism marks a new stage in man's study of himself.

The Discovery of America.—The new movement led to the discovery not merely of a half-forgotten ancient world of art and letters, but also of a new continent. As yet Europe hardly knew what lay beyond its own borders. No



SHIP OF THE TIME OF COLUMBUS

This ship, the *Santa Maria*, was about 93 feet long with 25 feet of beam

one could tell what might be found should a ship sail far westward into the Atlantic. It was known that a mysterious sea washed the remote, far eastern coast of Asia, and, since the earth was now believed to be round, the ocean off the west coast of Europe must be one and the same with that off the far coast of Asia. Should

this be true, ships might cross from Europe to Asia and a great trade might grow up. Yet it needed heroic courage to venture out into the Atlantic for many long days in the hope of reaching Japan or China. The bold sailor who at last did so was Christopher Columbus, from Genoa. In 1492 he persuaded Isabella of Spain to furnish him with three small ships for the enterprise. The unexpected happened. Columbus did not reach Asia, but he found regions hitherto undreamed of, which we know as America, barring his route to the East. He never understood the real nature of his achievement, which was to open two vast continents to the enterprise of Europeans.

The New Route to the East.—England took her part in this work of discovery. The accounts of Henry VII for the year 1497 have an entry of the sum of £10 paid to

a Venetian, John Cabot, who, sailing from Bristol in an English ship, five years after the first voyage of Columbus, had reached land in the distant West and had raised there the flag of England. Thus began those claims of England from which have resulted the English-speaking North America of to-day. About the same time, in 1498, Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese, having rounded the Cape of Good Hope, reached India by sea, and opened still another world to the energies of Europe. During the Middle Ages the Turks had not only seized Jerusalem (p. 67), but also had occupied the overland routes between Europe and Asia, and had interfered with trade as they liked. After the route by sea was found, a long and dangerous overland journey was no longer necessary to reach Asia. Ships from Europe sailed directly to ports in India and other countries in the far East, and the time was to come when the maritime enterprise of the English was to build up their mighty empire of India in the East.

Henry VIII, 1509-1547, and the Humanists.—When Henry VIII came to the throne in 1509, he seemed designed by nature to lead the great movements of his time. He was young, handsome, and full of strength and energy. He had remarkable qualities of mind. No one shared more keenly than he the new tastes of the Renaissance. He was fond of art, a good musician, and a real man of letters, with some insight and vigour as a writer. The Humanists looked upon Henry as one of themselves. The greatest scholar of the time was the Dutchman, Erasmus. On Henry's accession, Erasmus hurried to England to have a share in the glorious era which seemed now to be dawning there. Conspicuous among the English Humanists was John Colet (1467-1519),



HENRY VIII AS A YOUNG MAN

the son of a rich London merchant. Having studied in Italy, he returned to Oxford in 1496, and there, for eight years, lectured on the Greek text of the New Testament. Men had long known only Latin translations of the Bible, and had almost forgotten that Greek was the tongue in which St. Paul wrote. Colet taught them to think of St. Paul as a real man like themselves, and not as a being without human passions. When he inherited a large fortune, he used it to found the great St. Paul's School, which still endures. Here he hoped pure religion and sound learning would go hand in hand. Colet and Erasmus had a friend in the rising young English lawyer, Thomas More, whose learning and beauty of character made him the most delightful of companions.

All three were thinking deeply on the questions of the times, and their heads were full of plans for reforming the world. More wrote a book, *Utopia*, in which he described a golden age for suffering mankind, when all should work and none overwork, when want should be no more, thought should be free, and government mild and just. Erasmus hoped to see the church inspired with a new zeal for her tasks; Colet to educate a generation that should hate shams and live nobly for God's truth. The reality was to bring disillusion. Colet died in 1519, soon after his great school began; Erasmus lived to see the church torn by a fearful schism; and More perished on the scaffold. The changes of which they had dreamed were destined to bring not peace but a sword.

The Warlike Ambitions of Henry VIII.—The learned young king proved to be headstrong, ambitious, and ruthless. He was very rich, as a result of the extortions of Empson and Dudley. Now that the protector of these men, Henry VII, was gone, great clamour arose against them, on account of their extortions in the name of the law. Henry yielded to it and had them tried and executed in 1510. But he gave up none of the wealth which they had gathered. Colet and his friends soon found that Henry

was not the man for whom they had hoped. Instead of busying himself with wise plans for the welfare of his people, he was thinking of his own glory, and was bent upon becoming the greatest monarch of his time. The old nobility were under his feet, and the middle class, with bitter memories still of the bad days of civil war, looked to the king as the one guardian of law and order. Little wonder that Henry came to regard himself as almost divine. Even other kings, he said, dared not look him in the face. He would make himself the arbiter of Europe. He would renew the warlike glories of Edward III and Henry V, conquer France, and be crowned at Paris.

Battle of Flodden, 1513.—Accordingly, to the sorrow of men like Erasmus, Henry spent his father's treasure on war. With vast pomp and display he led an army to France and in 1513 won what was called the "Battle of the Spurs," because the French ran away so quickly. This success, though proclaimed as a mighty victory, achieved very little. But the same year witnessed another victory, which was really momentous. As of old, Scotland had joined France against the common enemy. Henry's brother-in-law, James IV, ordered him in arrogant terms not to attack France, and prepared for war. Henry's general, the Earl of Surrey, now in his seventieth year, marched to the north. The Scots invaded England, and a decisive battle took place on a ridge of the Cheviots in Northumberland, known as Flodden. By a skilful move, Surrey placed a part of his force so as to cut off James from Scotland. The king was surrounded, and perished, like Harold at Hastings, with all the Scottish leaders about him. There was no family of importance which did not lose some member. Flodden was a great national disaster to Scotland, the most tragic perhaps in all her annals. Not for a century did she recover from a blow so terrible.

4. THE CAREER OF WOLSEY

The Power of Wolsey.—Owing to fondness for pleasure,

Henry had no mind to busy himself, as his father had done, with the details of government. For the first half of his reign he laid this burden upon Thomas Wolsey, who in 1515 became a cardinal.



THOMAS, CARDINAL WOLSEY, (1475?-1530)

There was nothing unusual in this elevation of a churchman to secular authority, for in those days priests often took a leading part in affairs of state. Wolsey belonged by birth to the middle classes. In alertness and capacity for business, he was perhaps unequalled in his day; and Henry placed in his hands the whole business of government. It was Wolsey who carried on Henry's tortuous negotiations with other states in Europe; it was Wolsey who had to find for Henry the money which he needed; and it was Wolsey who, though a priest, planned his elaborate campaigns. Wolsey, therefore, became very powerful. He had vast revenues, including those of four or five bishoprics, and lived in state little less than regal. So high did his ambition soar that he aimed to become Pope and to carry out great reforms in the church. His was a large and liberal mind. He was tolerant in his opinions, the friend of the poor, the friend, too, of education. The world thought he ruled Henry, but the world was wrong. Henry always insisted on having his own way, and Wolsey himself tells us that, even when he had entreated the king for an hour on his knees, he had never induced him to change his resolution.

Relations of Henry with France and Spain.—Two great monarchs now struggled for leadership on the continent.

The emperor, Charles V, a mighty sovereign, ruled Spain, the Low Countries, Austria, and other realms in Europe, besides great dominions in America. Francis I of France was his keen rival. Henry thought that, by holding the balance of power between them, he himself should reach a position of unparalleled glory. His people, warlike as in the old days, were proud of a king who planned to make England greater than her neighbours. We find Henry the friend now of Charles, now of Francis. After he had met Francis, in 1520, with costly, and, as we should think, vulgar pomp, on the so-called "Field of the Cloth of Gold," in France, he welcomed Charles V in England. Each of these rulers, anxious to gain Wolsey's support, treated him almost as a sovereign.

Wolsey's Pressure upon Parliament.—All this busy intrigue and parade proved costly, and in the long run Henry's part came out of the pockets of the English people. Doile as Parliament had learned to be, Wolsey yet found it stubborn when he demanded money. In 1523 he summoned it for the first time in seven years. The members knew that they were now called only to grant money, and when Wolsey asked for a vast sum, £800,000, equal to quite £10,000,000 in our day, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the brilliant Thomas More, stoutly resisted the demand. Wolsey went down in person and tried to brow-beat the House, but in vain, and he was obliged to take much less than he had demanded. More money was necessary, and he therefore turned to demand an "Amicable Loan" from the well-to-do classes. They knew that, though it was in name a loan, it would never be repaid. Yet they dared not resist. When Wolsey threatened that heads should fall if the king did not get the money he required, they yielded, but they conceived a bitter hatred for the cardinal. The king, jovial and pleasure-loving as he seemed, took care that the blame should fall on his minister.

Henry's Marriage with Catherine of Aragon, 1509.—Wolsey's business was to do his master's will. When he

ceased to do it he fell. It came about that Henry made up his mind to get rid of his wife in order to marry another woman, and it was this resolve which ruined Wolsey. Henry VII, looking round for a profitable alliance in Europe, had succeeded in marrying his elder son, Arthur, a boy of fifteen, to Catherine, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. After a few months Arthur died in 1502. The question then arose, should his young widow go back to live in Spain? If she did, Henry VII would lose her heavy marriage portion, part of which had already been paid to him. It was, therefore, arranged that Catherine should remain in England, and in due course marry the young Prince Henry, now heir to the throne. Since a marriage with a husband's brother was against the law of the church, it was necessary to secure special permission from the Pope. This was given. The proposed bridegroom was still only a boy, and not until 1509, when he had become King Henry VIII, and was eighteen years old, did the marriage take place.

Henry's Resolve to put away Catherine, 1527.—The union seemed happy enough. Catherine was a good woman, devoted to her husband. She bore him two sons, but both died in infancy, and the only surviving child was a daughter, Mary. Not to have a son was a great disappointment to Henry. In himself, as the heir of both lines, he united the claims of Lancaster and York, but, to make the Tudor line secure, a son was necessary; a daughter would not do, for as yet no woman had ruled in England. Henry saw that if he himself should die without a male heir, there was likely to be civil war between rival claimants. From the first it had been said that, because Catherine was his brother's wife, Henry's marriage was invalid and that even the Pope had no right to permit it. Catherine, five years older than Henry, was a plain, austere woman. His was a fickle nature, and at length he tired of her. For two reasons he wished a divorce—he longed for an heir to the throne, and by 1522 he was in love with another woman, a sprightly

lady of the court, Anne Boleyn. To a man of Henry's temper, the getting rid of Catherine seemed simple enough. By 1527 he had decided that the Pope must declare that his marriage was invalid.

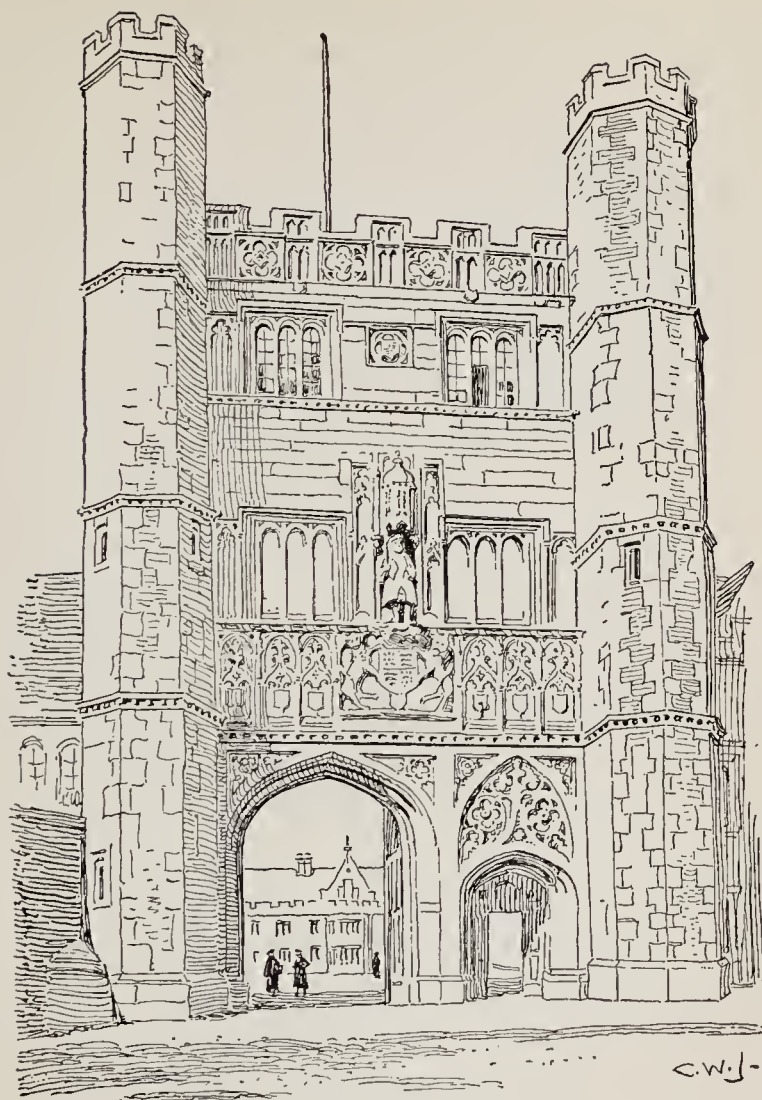
Had Catherine yielded, the affair might have been arranged. But yield she would not; she was, she said, Henry's lawful wife, and from that position she would not budge. She had powerful support. The emperor, Charles V, the greatest potentate of the time, was her nephew. He took the side of the injured woman, partly, it seems, through real chivalry, partly because Henry, if free to marry again, might make an alliance with the emperor's enemy, France. The Pope knew how serious strife with Charles might prove, for Charles's troops had taken and sacked Rome, in 1527, with unspeakable horrors. What could Clement do with two great rulers pulling him in opposite directions? He tried to avoid a quarrel with either side, negotiated, delayed. But one, at least, of those urging him expected always to have his own way and would not be checked. When Henry saw that Clement had determined not to meet his views, he made up his mind, none the less, to do what he wished.

Luther's Attack on the Church, 1517.—In an earlier age Henry's conflict with the Pope might have had the same result as John's ill-judged defiance (p. 89). But times had changed; a mighty religious revolution was under way in Europe. In 1517 Martin Luther, a German monk, began to attack the teaching of the church. Luther laid down the far-reaching principle that man is fully justified before God by faith in Christ, that his salvation is complete the moment he believes, and is in no way dependent upon the ministrations of a priest. It was soon clear that a great part of Germany agreed with Luther. Other countries were affected, and before long most of the states of northern Europe had broken away from Rome. Revolt was in the air, and this condition of affairs encouraged Henry in his purpose. He had no belief in the teaching

of Luther. He was wholly devoted to the old doctrines. But he saw that others had defied the church, and this he felt himself, also, strong enough to do.

Wolsey Fails to Secure the Divorce, 1528.—Wolsey was the Pope's representative in England, his legate, or ambassador, and Henry instructed Wolsey to get the matter of the divorce arranged. It was not easy. Wolsey wished to do it. He was in sympathy with the changing spirit of the time and a layman rather than a priest in outlook. He had seized decayed monasteries and used their lands to begin a great school at Ipswich and a great college, to be called Cardinal College, at Oxford. He had spoken plainly to the Pope more than once and had told him that the church in England might be driven to reject his authority. But now Clement VII would not, indeed he could not, yield. True, he let Wolsey and a second cardinal, Campeggio, hear Henry's case in open court in England in 1528, but when Henry impatiently expected a favourable verdict, Wolsey had to tell him that the Pope reserved judgment to himself and that he and his fellow cardinal could do nothing. All this made Henry angry. Anne Boleyn continually urged that the delay was due to Wolsey, and at last Henry turned on the man who, for nearly twenty years, had given him zealous service.

The Fall of Wolsey, 1529.—The first move was to attack Wolsey's possessions. He was charged, in 1529, with having supported in England a foreign jurisdiction, that of the Pope, and under the old law of *Præmunire* the penalty for this offence was the forfeiture of all his possessions and further punishment at the king's pleasure. It mattered not that Henry himself, like Wolsey, had appealed to the Pope. The king greedily seized the cardinal's property. He even took for himself the money which Wolsey had set aside for his school at Ipswich, and turned Wolsey's Cardinal College at Oxford into a royal foundation, to be known henceforth as Christ Church. He stripped Wolsey of every office but that of Archbishop



GATE HOUSE, TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, FOUNDED BY HENRY VIII IN 1546
 The Gate House was erected early in the 16th century. The battlements and the statue of the founder were added somewhat later. Note the flattened arches, the square frames of the windows, and the general rectangular effect, illustrating the development of Perpendicular Gothic into Tudor, of which style, as applied to scholastic buildings, this is a characteristic example (See page 176)

of York, to which place the fallen cardinal retired. But, fallen though he was, vengeful enemies pursued him. The old nobility hated the upstart, the Duke of Norfolk going so far as to say that he could tear him with his teeth. Soon Wolsey received a summons to London to answer a charge of high treason. That the block awaited him we can hardly doubt; Henry's instinct was to destroy servants whom he could no longer use. But a kinder fate saved Wolsey from the king. Worn out by his cares, he died in 1530 at Leicester Abbey, on his journey southward.

5. THE CHURCH POLICY OF HENRY VIII

Henry Charges the Clergy with *Præmunire*, 1531.—In destroying Wolsey, Henry learned his own power. He knew now that he might do what he liked and that no one could check him. Yet he moved cautiously. He named as lord chancellor, in succession to Wolsey, Sir Thomas More, thinking to use that man of spotless character to further his plans. The next thing was to get public support in Europe for his policy. It now came to Henry's ears that a scholarly clergyman, Thomas Cranmer, had suggested that the universities of Europe would be the best judges of questions of church law, and that they should be asked their opinion on the validity of the king's marriage. Henry caught at this idea and asked the universities for their opinion. It is to be feared that these learned bodies were influenced by the large sums of money which Henry spent. At any rate, most of them agreed that such a marriage could never have been legal. Cranmer carried their opinions to Rome and laid them before the Pope. Henry's next step was to force obedience from his own clergy. In 1531, he charged them, too, with *Præmunire* for accepting Wolsey as the Pope's legate and made them pay an enormous fine of £118,000, equal now to much more than £1,000,000. They were finally pardoned in 1532 only when they acknowledged that Henry was supreme head of the Church of England, and as such had full authority over them.

The Rise of Thomas Cromwell.—By this time Henry had found a minister as pitiless as himself. Thomas Cromwell, a man half lawyer, half money-lender, had spent part of his early wandering life in Italy, where he seems to have developed a great hatred of the papacy. Wolsey had made this able, bold, strong man his secretary, and had put him in charge of his legal affairs. He secured a seat in the House of Commons and, at the time of Wolsey's fall, showed gratitude to his former master and had the courage openly to defend him. Henry VIII, seeing that Cromwell would be useful, employed him, and Cromwell was soon urging the king to defy the Pope completely, make himself head of the church in England, and thus add to his own power as king all the powers which had formerly belonged to the church.



THOMAS CROMWELL, EARL OF
ESSEX (1485?-1540)

Henry's Mastery of Parliament.—Having gone so far, Henry was prepared to follow bold counsels. He had nothing to fear from the nobility in the House of Lords. Their old spirit of independence was gone, and they were abjectly ready to do what the king desired. The Commons, also, he easily mastered. Henry was careful to preserve legal forms, but the Commons would not venture to address Henry VIII as they had addressed Henry IV. No constituency dared to reject the member whom Henry nominated. The election of members was, in truth, in his own hands. Now he took good care to have a House which would obey him. In 1529 what is known as the Seven Years' Parliament came together. Hitherto a new election had taken place after each session, but now, having taken the trouble to get the right kind of Parliament, Henry kept it for years. During its long term it proved ready to do whatever he wished. The lawyers and county

gentlemen who composed it were rather glad to humble the clergy, and professed boundless devotion to the king. They held him, indeed, as half divine. Whenever his name was mentioned in the House, they bowed in deep reverence.

Cranmer Nullifies the Marriage with Catherine.—Henry could now look for support even to the head of the clergy. The old Archbishop of Canterbury, the learned, courtly, stately Warham, would not have lent himself to Henry's



THOMAS CRANMER,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (1489–1556)

plans, but, when he died in 1533, Henry named Cranmer to the vacant see, and the Pope, still wishing for peace, confirmed the nomination. Cranmer was a good but weak man, and Henry knew perfectly well that he could force his own will upon the archbishop. Everything was now ready for the final defiance of Rome. Already Henry had married Anne Boleyn in private, but in May, 1533, Cranmer declared publicly that the marriage with Catherine

was null and void from the beginning, and that Anne Boleyn was Henry's lawful wife. On June 1st, 1533, she was crowned queen of England. The Pope promptly declared that Cranmer's decision was of no effect. But the die was now cast. The king of England and the chief bishop of the Church of England openly defied the Pope. Henry appealed against him to a future general council. Meanwhile, he took to himself, by various Acts of Parliament,

the authority over the church which the Pope had previously exercised.

The Succession Act and the Act of Supremacy, 1534.—Such was the break with the Roman Catholic Church. No point of doctrine was raised. The question was whether Henry VIII would bow to the Pope's authority, and Henry was fully resolved that neither he nor England should do so. Already, in 1532, the devout Sir Thomas More, seeing what was coming, had resigned the office of chancellor and retired into private life. Henry VIII was resolved, however, that all England should move with him. In 1534 he caused Parliament to pass an Act of Succession, declaring that the marriage with Catherine had always been invalid, and that only his children by Anne should have the right to the throne. It was provided, moreover, that any one might be called on to declare on oath his acceptance of all that the Act involved. To refuse to take the oath would be treason punishable by death. This Succession Act was followed in 1534 by the Act of Supremacy, which declared Henry to be "on earth the supreme head of the church of England," and completely abolished the authority of the Pope in England. Any one refusing to accept this Act was also to die as a traitor.

The Execution of Sir Thomas More, 1535.—Henry was determined to force obedience on every one, and, with Cromwell at his side, he went to dreadful lengths. The London Charterhouse, probably the best-ordered monastery in England, had as prior, or head, John Houghton, a highly cultivated and devout man. He and two other priors of the Carthusian order would not make oath that they believed the marriage with Catherine invalid from the first. They were tried in 1535, condemned for treason, and hanged in their habits, as a terrible warning to other ecclesiastics. Never before had a priest been executed without first being degraded from his sacred office. More shocking than this was Henry's next act. Sir Thomas More had a reputation which extended throughout Europe.

Henry had made him a special friend and had taken great delight in his wit. But Henry was now resolved that the great should obey his will, and thus set an example to those



SIR THOMAS MORE (1478-1535)

of lesser rank. More was summoned to take the oath and was told that he must obey or die. He chose to die. He was ready, he said, to accept the decree of Parliament that Anne Boleyn's children should succeed to the throne; for this was well within the authority of Parliament. But he would not swear that he believed the marriage with Catherine to have been no true marriage. A trial, which

was really a farce, followed, and More was sentenced to death. His afflicted family begged him to yield, but he would not, and he faced the end with simple and impressive cheerfulness. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, an old man, the friend of Henry's father, took the same stand as More, and, like him, went to the block. The heads of two of the noblest men in England were put on London Bridge. Henry knew no pity for class or sex. Laymen, priests, women, all alike were condemned to death if they would not bend to his will.

The Six Articles, 1539.—After the long fight Henry stood forth with the powers of the Pope added to his old powers as king. He was head of the church. Dues formerly paid to the Pope now went to him. He named the bishops, and woe to the clergy if they ventured to protest against those whom he named. Though he had no thought of breaking away from the old doctrines, he paved the way for change when he allowed the reading of the Bible. Wycliffe's Bible had long been out of date. William Tyndale now

translated into fresh and vigorous English the New Testament and part of the Old, and in 1536 Henry authorized Miles Coverdale to issue his complete translation of the Bible, which was based on the work of Tyndale. This Bible, an expensive book, costing, in present values, some six pounds, was put in the churches, where the people might read it. But Henry did not intend that the people should interpret its teaching for themselves. He was still resolved that they should hold the old doctrines, though without any obedience to the Pope. In the end he caused Parliament to pass, in 1539, "An Act abolishing Diversity of Opinions." The title of the Act shows Henry's belief that he could coerce even the minds of his people. The Act named Six Articles of Faith, the chief of them being transubstantiation, which must be held by all Henry's subjects. To deny any of these articles was to incur the death penalty.

The Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries, 1536; the Greater, 1539.—It was inevitable that Henry should lay hands on the property of the church. Great seizures had been made before. The devout Henry V had seized the property of the foreign monastic houses in England. A century earlier, in 1312, Edward II had seized the property of the great crusading order, the Templars, whose house in London, the Temple, remains to this day devoted to other purposes than those of the order. Henry now made seizures on a colossal scale. He was always greedy for money. Cromwell had promised that he should be the richest prince in Christendom, and wealth was to come from the church. A large part of the land of England belonged to the monasteries, and vast treasures of gold and precious jewels were stored up at famous shrines, like that of Thomas Becket at Canterbury. Henry proceeded to seize this wealth. No doubt some of the monks were idle and vicious and deserved to lose their property. But it is equally certain that many were devoted to their work of prayer and almsgiving. All the monasteries alike were, however, doomed. In 1535 Cromwell sent out agents to visit them, and these agents

brought back the kind of reports which their master desired. Everywhere, they declared, they had found vice and idleness; the monasteries were useless and the monks depraved. Accordingly, in 1536, Parliament passed an Act granting the smaller monasteries to the king. Under pressure, some of the larger ones, also, soon handed over their property, and in 1539 all that remained were suppressed. Hundreds of monks and nuns were made homeless. The spoilers ransacked tombs, scattered valuable libraries to the winds, and wrecked buildings. Majestic ruins, beautiful in their decay, are evidence still of the desolation which swept from one end of England to the other. Cromwell, like his master, knew no pity. Abbots who had sat with the greatest of England in the House of Lords were sent to their death by this stern, hard man, because they did not lend themselves readily to his plans. An extract from his diary shows his method: "The Abbot of Reading to be tried and hanged for treason to-morrow." The verdict and the penalty are settled first; the trial follows.

The Granting Away of Abbey Lands.—The annual value of the lands which Henry seized was equal to quite one and a half million pounds now. Besides, there was vast spoil of jewels and gold from the various shrines. The lands were scattered prodigally among greedy claimants. Cromwell himself took the great estates of the Abbey of Lewes and much besides. The Duke of Suffolk secured thirty religious foundations, the Dudleys eighteen, Lord Clinton twelve, Lord Audley nine. New men, rich now with the church lands, were able to found families, some of which, the Russells and the Cavendishes, for instance, are still conspicuous. Henry even made some of the old land-owners take abbey property in exchange for their own, that they might have selfish reasons to resist future attempts at restoration. It is said that forty thousand families were soon holding abbey lands.

The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536.—All this ruin greatly disturbed the social order. Some monasteries had helped

the poor. Above all the monasteries had educated the young. Hospitals which had sheltered the weak, the aged, and the destitute were destroyed; the sick and the blind were turned out of doors. Such waste and suffering caused great discontent, and in the autumn of 1536 it seemed as if Henry had gone too far. Outbreaks began in Lincolnshire. Then came a formidable demand from the north that the monasteries should be restored, that base-born counsellors, such as Cromwell, should be dismissed, and that heretic bishops, such as Cranmer, should be deposed and punished. The Archbishop of York and hundreds of the clergy joined the rebels, who planned a march to London on a so-called Pilgrimage of Grace, to seek, as devout pilgrims, redress from the king. Henry met Robert Aske, the rebel leader, and gave smooth pledges to effect reforms and to pardon the rebels. When, however, the hostile forces melted away before his promises, his tone changed, and he inflicted a terrible revenge on the regions most affected. Not only were Aske and other leaders executed; hundreds of peasants were hanged on trees or gibbets as a warning to all who should oppose the king.

The Execution of Anne Boleyn, 1536.—Henry, selfish and fickle, soon wearied of Anne Boleyn, who was pretty, but also shallow and frivolous. She bore him a daughter, Elizabeth, but not the son for whom he had hoped. In 1536 Henry had shown every sign of joy at the death of Catherine of Aragon. Now he saw that, were Anne out of the way, he could make a marriage which no one could question. A son born of such a marriage would then have an indisputable title to the crown and possibly save England from civil war. Anne had many enemies. Court gossips were busy, and suddenly, in 1536, she was accused of outrageous misconduct. It may be that she was really guilty; at all events Henry showed no scruple in pressing evidence against her, and it was soon clear that he intended to destroy her. Europe had been shocked when Henry executed More; now, when he beheaded his own queen, he

was thought to be indeed a monster. It is hard for us now to realize the callous spirit of Henry. On the day of the execution of Anne Boleyn, he went merrily to the hunt. Ten days later he married Jane Seymour. She died in the following year, 1537, after giving birth to the long-desired heir, who was later to be Edward VI.

The Execution of Cromwell, 1540.—Cromwell thought it would widen the breach with the Roman Catholic Church if the king should marry a German Protestant, and he pictured the Princess Anne of Cleves to Henry as a lady of many attractions. When she arrived in England, Henry found her dull in mind and unattractive in appearance. Within a few months, in 1540, at the king's command the



HENRY VIII IN LATER LIFE

pliant Cranmer pronounced the marriage invalid. Cromwell, just created Earl of Essex, had now done what was unpardonable; by this ill-planned marriage he had made Henry a little ridiculous, and Henry was now resolved to have Cromwell's life. The king took some time to debate with himself whether he should behead Cromwell for treason or

burn him for heresy; for Cromwell seems to have been sincere in holding Protestant views. At last Henry decided upon beheading. But Cromwell was not tried, for at a trial awkward things might come out. A mode of dealing with accused persons by Act of Parliament had long been known in England and had often been used in the stormy

period of the Wars of the Roses. It consisted in simply passing an Act of Parliament, condemning the accused person to death and declaring his blood attainted, so that he could not hold property or transmit it to his heirs. Since Parliament was supreme, it could legislate away a man's life. Death, by such a Bill of Attainder, was the fate which, in 1540, Henry caused the two Houses to decree for Cromwell. Henry took a new wife, Catherine Howard, of the family of the Duke of Norfolk, the leader of the party opposed to Cromwell; but she was soon found guilty of gross immorality and was executed in 1542. Henry's last matrimonial venture was more fortunate than he deserved. In 1543 he married a widow, Catherine Parr, a good and tactful woman, who survived him.

Defeat of the Scots at Solway Moss, 1542.—To the last Henry followed the futile dream of his boyhood that he should be a great conqueror. In 1544 he was campaigning in France. Because he had designs on France, he was often at war with Scotland, for these two states stood together against England. Henry struck down two Scottish kings. In 1513 James IV had fallen at Flodden, and in 1542, when war was renewed, the Duke of Norfolk inflicted so disastrous a defeat upon the Scots at Solway Moss that the evil tidings killed king James V. A little girl, Mary, later to be that unhappy Queen of Scots whose life ended on the block, was left heiress to the Scottish throne. Henry made the Scots promise that she should marry, in due course, his own infant son, Edward, but it was destined that the marriage should never take place.

The Irish Policy of Henry VIII.—Ireland was troublesome to Henry. The island had been untouched by the Renaissance movement; its people were attached to the Roman Catholic Church and believed profoundly in its teachings; in the backward life of Ireland the monasteries had a useful place, which they had lost in England. Yet, because Henry had broken with the Pope, Ireland, too, was forced to break with him. Earlier English kings had taken

only the title of "Lord" of Ireland, and the claim was made, if not admitted, that they held Ireland from the Pope. To end this claim, Henry called himself by the supreme title of King of Ireland. In 1536 the Irish Parliament declared Henry to be the head, also, of the church. Because relics and images were destroyed and monasteries were devastated in England, the same things followed in Ireland, in spite of the affection and reverence of the Irish people for the old faith. It was easy enough to do all this within the English part of Ireland, the Pale. But Henry went beyond the Pale. By force of arms he compelled the Irish tribes to submit to the new policy. He showed tact in dealing with the Irish leaders, and is the first English king who took pains to win their confidence. To some of them he gave lands taken from the Irish monasteries. He did not himself go to Ireland; no reigning English king had done this since Richard II, and no English king was to do it for still a century and a half. Henry hoped to anglicize the Irish. He invited chieftains over to England, conferred on some of them titles of nobility in the English style, and pleased them by his hearty manner and pleasant ways. But the wound remained. The church to which the Irish clung was, under him, humbled, pillaged, put down by law. In time the masses of England accepted such changes. The Irish never did; and the cleavage in religion between them and their neighbours remains to this day.

Improvement of the Navy.—Though Henry was far from being a great, far-seeing ruler, he yet had a mighty influence on the history of England. He turned her religious energies into new channels, and by shattering the tie with the Roman see made it possible for his successor to be a Protestant. By spending some of the plunder of the church in building ships, he did much to make England a great naval power. The Italians were at that time the best ship-builders, and Henry imported Italian workmen to teach their skill to the English. He was the first English king to give the navy effective organization. He set aside a

portion of his revenue each year for building and maintaining fighting ships. The crushing defeat of Spain on the sea under his daughter must be credited to Henry's policy.

Death of Henry VIII, 1547.—To the end Henry was haunted by fears that rivals for the throne were plotting against him. As early as in 1521 he had beheaded the great Duke of Buckingham, who had talked incautiously about his own royal blood. More than one possible Yorkist claimant he executed; in 1541 he even sent to the block a woman, Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, chiefly because she was the daughter of Edward IV's brother, Clarence. A few months before his own death, Henry seized the Earl of Surrey, an accomplished poet, and his father, the Duke of Norfolk, for supposed pretensions to the crown. Surrey was beheaded, but Henry died in 1547 on the day before Norfolk was to be executed, and this saved the Duke's life.

CHAPTER X

THE ELIZABETHAN AGE

1. THE RELIGIOUS CHANGES UNDER EDWARD VI



EDWARD SEYMOUR, DUKE
OF SOMERSET (1506?-1552)
PROTECTOR

Somerset, Protector, 1547-49.—According to the directions of Henry VIII, a Council of sixteen members was to rule the state while his young son, Edward VI, was a minor. Henry desired that England should be in religion neither Roman Catholic nor Protestant, but should cling to the old doctrines, with the one change of rejecting the Pope's authority. It was perfectly clear, however, that not even Henry himself could, in the end, have carried out such a policy. England must be either Roman Catholic or Protestant. The new Council decided that it should be Protestant, and it quickly gave to the Earl of Hertford, brother of Lady Jane Seymour and uncle of the young king, almost regal power as Protector, with the title of Duke of Somerset.

Battle of Pinkie, 1547.—Somerset, a sincere, well-meaning man, had large plans. Not only would he lead England into the Protestant fold; he would unite England and Scotland, and thus bring the whole island under one sway. Henry VIII had already secured a promise that Mary, the young Queen of Scots, should marry his son Edward, and thus unite the two ancient crowns. But the Roman Catholics were dominant at the Scottish Court and shrank from an alliance with a Protestant ruler. The Scots, more-

over, had cause to fear that so close a tie with England might mean their own subjection to a great neighbour, and now they renewed their alliance with France and refused consent to the marriage. To coerce the Scots, Somerset led an army to Scotland and inflicted on them a crushing defeat at Pinkie in 1547. This was the third great defeat of the Scots in less than forty years. Yet the victory was a fruitless one. The young queen was sent to France, where she married Francis, the heir to the French throne, and the Scots assuredly treasured up no love for the English neighbour who had pressed so violent a wooing.

Acts of Uniformity.—The plan to make England Protestant succeeded better. Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, a famous preacher, now began openly to teach Protestant doctrine, while staunch Roman Catholics like Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, Bishop of London, were kept in prison. Cranmer, aided chiefly by Bishop Ridley, who took Bonner's place as Bishop of London, set himself the task of drawing up a new service book for public worship. He worked cautiously. In 1549 what is known as the First Prayer Book of Edward VI was ready. This book set forth the only forms to be allowed, and Parliament passed an Act of Uniformity ordering its use everywhere. The book retained more mediæval usages than Protestant opinion favoured, and in 1552 the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, thoroughly Protestant in tone, was made compulsory by a new Act of Uniformity. Forty-two articles, issued in 1553, completed in England the new Anglican system. It differed from anything to be found elsewhere. Bishops and other dignitaries were retained. The changes were not in the forms of church government, but in the teaching which the church authorized. The mass was changed to a simple communion service. Those who went to church found no longer a priest, robed in rich vestments, saying the prayers in the Latin tongue. Instead, they saw a clergyman robed in a plain, white surplice, and using only the English language. It was another startling change

that many priests now married. The clergy were required either to preach sermons Protestant in tone, or to read to their people discourses of this type from a Book of Homilies issued by the church authorities.

The Pillage of Church Property.—Henry VIII had plundered the monasteries, but he had not disturbed the parish churches. Now these, too, were plundered. In many of them was stored up great wealth in gold and silver vessels, jewelled crosses, and rich vestments. These had no place in the new religious system, and they went as rich booty to the Protector and his Protestant friends. Fanatic rage was shown against some features of the old system. Hundreds of statues which decorated the churches were destroyed, because those now in authority thought that they ministered to idolatry. Beautiful stained glass, in which were blazoned figures of saints and angels, was ruined for the same reason, and the churches were left bare and desolate. Further revenues of the church were now seized. The piety of past ages had endowed what were known as “chantries” with funds for saying daily masses for the dead, for keeping candles burning before the shrines of saints, and for other similar purposes. Many of the guilds were trustees of money to provide masses for the souls of their members. Such practices many now counted as superstitious. Some of these funds were used to found schools, but much of this wealth passed into private hands. Somerset himself was not too scrupulous to take vast sums from the pillage of the church. There was truth in the charges of the Roman Catholics that it was less religion than the love of gain which had prompted the attacks on the church.

Insurrections in 1549.—The new land-owners were better farmers than the monks had been, but they often proved hard and grasping. In earlier times the English peasant had farmed his own allotment and had been free to cut wood and to pasture his cows and his pigs on the common which the villagers had the right to use. Later

the small farmer had prospered. Bishop Latimer, destined to perish at the stake in the reign of Mary, told, in a sermon before Edward VI, how his father, on land rented for three or four pounds a year, had employed six men, kept thirty cows, all milked by his own wife, and also a hundred sheep, educated his son who became a bishop, dowered his daughters in marriage, and helped his poorer neighbours. Now, however, heavy rents were crushing out the small farmer. Wool brought a high price, and the great land-owner kept his land in pasture. Sometimes he put a fence about the former common land of the village, so that his sheep might run freely over its wide area. Since he now needed few helpers, he was free to pull down cottages that were in his way. Of course, the people murmured, but their complaints were often treated with contempt. They were dissatisfied with the religious as well as with the social changes, and at last broke out in formidable revolt. In Devon and Cornwall the religious question was uppermost with the rebels, and they demanded that the old system should be restored. In Norfolk the peasants, under Ket, a rich tanner, demanded that the land-owners should cease making the unjust enclosures which were helping to put sheep rather than men on the land of England. Other things made the people angry. The government was putting into the shilling coin only about half the silver formerly used. Of course, the traders saw this and raised the prices which were paid in these debased coins. The labourers, however, who received for their work no more shillings than before, found prices high and themselves poorer than ever. No wonder they were desperate.

Execution of Somerset, 1552.—Somerset had a kind heart, and the rigorous men of the Council found that they must use a sterner leader against the rebels. So they sent against those in Norfolk, John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, son of the Dudley who had helped so unsparingly to coerce the great nobles under Henry VII. Warwick, a hard, greedy, ambitious man, had no tender scruples, and he

defeated the rebels with great slaughter. When Warwick thus proved that he was the strong man in the Council, Somerset's day was over. The office of Protector was abolished, and Somerset himself was imprisoned for a time. A little later, in 1552, when he showed some sign of trying again to rival Warwick, he met the fate of the defeated in that hard age and was promptly executed.

Edward VI, 1547-1553.—Amid the rude violence of the reign, we almost lose sight of the little king himself. Kings are often lonely beings, and this royal child was no excep-



EDWARD VI

tion. Like his father, he believed a king to be half divine, and he showed little natural affection. He spent much time in study, learned Greek, Latin, and French, read daily ten chapters of Scripture with delight, discoursed upon theology, and was zealous for Protestant doctrine. He kept a diary, in which great matters of state are noted with intelligence. He was aware of the robbery of the church that was going on and mentions the amounts secured by some of those

about him; already, perhaps, he intended that for them a day of reckoning should come. Warwick devoted himself to gaining the favour of the young king, and with such success that the poor boy became the obedient tool of his ambitious minister. He created Warwick Duke of Northumberland, and Warwick in turn professed undying devotion to the Protestant faith, dear to Edward.

Plot to make Lady Jane Grey Queen.—At the beginning of 1553 it was clear that the king was dying of con-

sumption. Since Parliament had given Henry VIII the right to fix the succession to the crown, the terms of his will became now of the utmost importance. Should Edward die childless, the crown was to go to Henry's daughter, Mary, and then, were she also childless, to his other daughter, Elizabeth; if Elizabeth had no children, it was to go to the descendants of

Henry VIII's younger sister, Mary. Henry deliberately passed over the descendants of the elder sister, Margaret, married to the Stuart king of Scotland. Northumberland now formed a deep-laid scheme to pass over both daughters of Henry VIII, and to bring to the throne Lady Jane Grey, granddaughter of Henry VIII's younger sister, Mary. (See Genealogies). This



LADY JANE GREY (1537-1554)

young and innocent girl, of devout and beautiful character, Northumberland married to his own son, Lord Guildford Dudley. He persuaded Edward that he had the right to fix the succession, and a will was prepared to secure the crown to Lady Jane Grey. The young king, wan and dying, signed it and begged the members of his Council to give their assent. One by one they did so, Cranmer, the last to sign, assenting only because of the entreaties of the dying king.

Execution of Northumberland.—Edward died in July, 1553, and Northumberland at once proclaimed Lady Jane Grey queen. But he had underestimated the deep sense of loyalty of the English people to the Tudor house which had saved them from dreaded civil war. They had made up their minds that Mary, the elder daughter of Henry VIII, should be their next ruler, and everywhere but in London she was proclaimed queen as soon as Edward's death was known. Even in London, bells were soon ringing, bonfires were blazing, and crowds were shouting in her honour. Within a few days her rival was a prisoner in the Tower, as was also Northumberland. The Duke showed himself to be a craven. He had talked much of his zeal for the Protestant faith. Now he declared that this had never been his real belief, and he begged abjectly for life. His treason, however, had been too great, and the new queen let him go to execution without delay. Life was still the stake in politics.

2. THE RESTORATION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Mary, 1553-1558, Restores Roman Catholicism.—Mary, now thirty-seven years old, occupied a remarkable position, for she was the first woman who ever ruled England. Yet, however startling it was to see a woman on the throne, the masses of the people seem to have had no misgivings. Mary was clever, well educated, and, like all the Tudors, proud and high-spirited. She had suffered much. Her heartless father had treated her with great cruelty when he put away her mother, Catherine of Aragon. An Act of Parliament declared that she was not the child of a lawful marriage, and to this statement she had been forced to give her written approval. When her dying mother asked for her daughter, Mary had not been allowed to go to the death-bed. Such sorrows had come chiefly through the changes in religion, and now she was resolved to cure, as far as she could, the harm done to the ancient church.

There is no evidence that Mary was cruel by nature; we know, indeed, that she was often gentle, affectionate, and merciful. But there was iron resolution in her nature. Now, when she had power, and her conscience called her to a stern task, that of crushing the enemies of her faith, she did not shrink from what it would cost. We see what the sovereign's will counted for, in those days of Tudor rule, by the readiness of Parliament to obey Mary's wishes. Promptly, in 1553, it repealed the changes in religion made under Edward VI. Gardiner, one of the bishops imprisoned under Edward, now was released and became lord chancellor. Bonner resumed his former charge as Bishop of London,

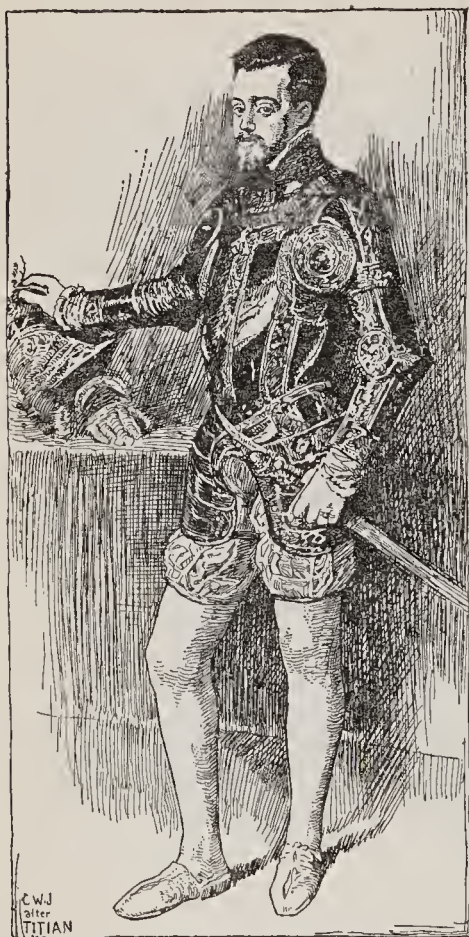


MARY I

and the Protestant Ridley, who had displaced him, went to a confinement destined to end only at the stake. Cranmer and Latimer, too, though they might have escaped to the continent, stood their ground to face the coming ordeal of fire.

Wyatt's Rebellion, 1554.—Mary was no longer young, but she resolved to marry, and the husband she accepted was a young prince, now only twenty-seven years old, Philip, soon to be Philip II, ruler of Spain, of the Nether-

lands, and of America. He was by no means an ardent suitor for the queen's hand. Nor did the English approve of the marriage. It was, indeed, this marriage which first



PHILIP II OF SPAIN (1527-1598)

The latest development of armour, elaborately engraved with inlays of various metals; suits of armour worn now chiefly for display on ceremonial occasions; but the breast-plate, the gorget, or neckguard, and thigh pieces used for some time still

turned Mary's people against her. They feared that their land should be dragged in the wake of the policy of Spain—a fear which the event fully justified. So strong grew the feeling against the marriage that a widespread conspiracy was formed to depose Mary and to put her sister, Elizabeth, on the throne. Sir Thomas Wyatt, a gentleman of Kent, led a band of rebels to London in 1554, but he was defeated and executed. Lady Jane Grey's father, the Duke of Suffolk, had some share in the plot, and he, too, was put to death. It was too much to hope that, in so cruel a time, his gentle daughter should be spared, and Lady Jane Grey's young head and that of her husband fell on the block.

The Reconciliation with the Pope, 1554.—When her enemies were crushed and her marriage was completed, the

next object of Mary's desire was to secure for her country the Pope's formal absolution. To this end she caused the changes in religion of the previous reign to be revoked. The married clergy were now to put away their wives or to give up their posts. Once more was mass heard in Latin in the village churches, and the Prayer Book in English was forbidden. But the Pope required more than the restoration of the old services. He demanded that the work of Henry VIII should be undone. England must again accept the Pope's authority, and she must give back the lands taken from the church. But the English did not like either of these conditions, and a long delay ensued. At last there came to England, as legate of the Pope, Cardinal Reginald Pole. He was of royal lineage, the grandson of Edward IV's brother, Clarence, whose daughter, Pole's mother, Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, Henry VIII had beheaded in 1541, because of supposed treason against his throne. Henry VIII would have put Pole himself to death, could he have laid hands on him. Now he and Henry's daughter worked together to restore the old faith in England.

They could not do all that they wished. The queen's marriage was very unpopular, the English were already a little restive, and Parliament, usually so docile under the Tudors, held out with great tenacity against the plan to take back the church lands. These had been distributed among many thousands of owners, and to take them back would have involved renewed social upheaval of a violent kind. At last Mary had to consent that the church lands should remain with the new owners. On the other hand, Parliament repealed all the laws against the Pope's authority made under Henry VIII and Edward VI, and it re-enacted those permitting the punishment of heresy. Then, in 1554, with great ceremony, the Pope granted to the realm of England absolution for all the injury she had done to the church. The new land-owners were delighted to be received back without surrendering gains made at the church's expense.

The Burning of the Bishops.—A sacred task remained to Mary. She must purge England of heresy. Ridley and Latimer, the two bishops who, next to Cranmer, had been most conspicuous in the previous reign, were tried at Oxford, sentenced to death for their heresy, and burned at the stake in 1555. Cranmer, a man of powerful intellect but weak will, was also tried at Oxford. More than once, in hope of pardon, he recanted, but Mary was not likely to spare one who had pronounced her mother's marriage invalid and had said that she herself was born out of wedlock. He was burned at Oxford in 1556, deeply penitent for his weakness, and holding in the fire, that it might be the first burned, the "unworthy hand," as he called it, which had signed his recantation. Two or three other bishops were also burned, as also were many victims from among the common people. Occasionally, ever since the burning of Lollards began under Henry IV, a heretic had been burned. Now thirteen persons, two of them women, were burned at Stratford-le-Bow in a single day. Two hundred and seventy-seven persons are said to have been burned in the reign of Mary, more than had died in this way during all the previous history of England. Mary's policy was to hold the executions in various centres, that terror might strike the hearts of heretics everywhere. The crowds, however, looked upon the burnings with pity rather than terror, and learned to respect a persecuted creed, which they had formerly associated with plunder and selfish ambition.

The Loss of Calais, 1558.—Ill health and deep melancholy soon settled upon Mary. A year after her marriage, her husband, Philip, never an ardent lover, left England, and though she yearned for him, he came back only once again and then for but a brief period. Having assumed in 1556 the sovereignty which his father, Charles V, then laid down, Philip used England for his own purposes. When he went to war with France, he drew Mary into a struggle in which English troops fought side by side with those of

Spain. The Pope aided France, and to her horror, Mary found herself attacking the forces of the head of the church—the one interest in the world for which she deeply cared. Moreover, the war led to a serious national loss. In 1558 the French took Calais, which the English had held for more than two hundred years, but which they now lost for ever. The nation was angry, and the queen, who suffered from headache and palpitation of the heart, was oppressed by this added burden. “When I am dead and gone,” she said, “thou shalt find Calais lying upon my heart.” She had wished to be loved by her people, but it is probable that only the certain nearness of her death saved England from revolt. Mary died on November 17th, 1558, and Pole died the next day.

3. THE ANGLICAN SYSTEM UNDER ELIZABETH

Elizabeth, 1558-1603.—Mary died childless, and now the English looked with eager hope to her young sister, Elizabeth, now a woman of twenty-five. Her youth and beauty helped to inspire passionate devotion. She had a proud confidence in herself and was absolutely fearless. In energy of body Elizabeth was more like a man than a woman; she could ride all day, dance all night, and tire out the strongest. She had a passionate temper, and, when angry, was likely to use



ELIZABETH

The queen when about sixty years old; small cap or bonnet; wig set with jewels; lace ruff on wire frame, rising behind the head

coarse oaths and to fling the nearest object at any one who irritated her. Like all the Tudors, she looked upon herself as half divine, and grave statesmen trembled in her presence. "Princes," she said "transact business in a princely way and with princely understanding, such as private persons cannot have." Those who spoke to her, as well as those upon whom her eye fell, dropped to their knees. Yet, with all her strength, she was fickle, coquettish, and vain. Sex played a great part in her statecraft. From the outset she seems to have resolved never to marry, but she encouraged suitors, often merely to use them for political purposes. Many a time, by arousing hopes of a marriage alliance, did she keep foes from attacking her until the time of danger had passed. For a dozen years she held France uncertain in this way. In everything except her barbaric love of dress she showed parsimony. This had its nobler side, for by twenty-four years of saving she was able to pay off her father's debts. It strengthened the queen's hold upon her subjects that she was the island queen, who never put foot in any realm but her own. England was the only world for which she cared; there she was resolved to be supreme and loved, but also obeyed, by her people.

The Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity.—When Mary died, Philip II intimated that, though the plan involved personal sacrifice, he would marry Elizabeth if she would uphold the Roman Catholic faith. For this marriage with a deceased wife's sister, forbidden under church law, the Pope would, no doubt, have given a dispensation. Philip expected Elizabeth's ready assent, but his offer was rejected. This refusal seemed to indicate the devotion of Elizabeth to Protestantism. Yet at her coronation and at the opening of Parliament, mass was celebrated as it would have been in Mary's time. Altar lights and crucifixes in her private chapel made watchful Protestants suspect that the queen was not on their side. The problem of religion was one for practical calculation on the part of

this cautious woman. As she read the times, the Roman Catholic Church was losing ground. Moreover, with a temper as haughty as that of her father, she would admit no authority but her own within her realm and would not bow to that of the Pope. It was soon clear what her policy would be. Parliament was ready to obey her wishes, and the Commons now showed a strong desire to restore the system of Edward VI. It passed first, in 1559, an Act of Supremacy, abolishing the Pope's authority, which Mary had so anxiously restored, and making the queen the "supreme governor" in both church and state. Any one who should persist in maintaining the authority of the Pope was to be liable to the death penalty as a traitor. A new Act of Uniformity followed in the same session, restoring, with some slight alterations, the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. Thus did the system set up by Cranmer finally prevail. The mass was abolished. The people were to have services in English in their own churches. To this day the state church in England adheres to the practices then established.

The Elizabethan Settlement in Religion.—It is not easy to know what the English thought of these changes. The old church had zealous friends, while, on the other side, many wished to copy the austere system which Calvin had set up at Geneva, and to get rid not only of bishops, but also of every custom of the Roman Catholic church. Elizabeth was bent on a middle course and was helped by circumstances. Half the bishops had died, and their sees were vacant. All but one of the remaining bishops clung to the Church of Rome and lost their sees. Elizabeth was thus free to appoint a whole bench of bishops. She named moderate men. To her former tutor, Matthew Parker, she gave the leading place as Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a staunch Protestant, but a gentle, reasonable man who would smooth down difficulties. He did not press changes too harshly upon those reluctant to accept them. The Forty-Two Articles of the time of Edward VI were reduced, in 1563, to Thirty-Nine, which now became and still remain

the doctrinal standards of the Church of England. Some harsh phrases about the old church were softened, so as not to stir up needless opposition. For the time the policy of Elizabeth was to avoid conflict. She made peace with France in 1559, though on what seemed to her the hard condition of leaving Calais in French hands. All these measures gave England rest and security for a time. Within a year she was free from war, the new church system had been set up, the finances were being handled with care and economy, and the political outlook was changed indeed from what it had been in the later days of Mary.

4. MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS

Burleigh, the Queen's Chief Adviser.—The calm



SIR WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURLEIGH
(1520-1598)

which followed the beginning of the new reign did not result in a real peace. All over Europe the old faith and the new were bound to fight out their quarrel to the bitter end. Civil war broke out nearly everywhere, and England was remarkable in remaining free from this scourge. Elizabeth had keen insight into character, and she took as her chief counsellor Sir William Cecil, whom, in time, she made Lord Burleigh. He was

sedate, far-sighted, free from passion, and wholly true to his royal mistress, who always treated him with more respect than she usually gave to her servants. No single

minister, however, ruled under Elizabeth, as Wolsey had ruled in the time of her father. She held in her own hands the strings of statecraft, and her will was supreme.

Plots Against the Queen.—It was an age of conspiracy and assassination, and to check plots Cecil organized an elaborate secret service. At its head was Sir Francis Walsingham, as keen and alert and as devoted to the queen as was Cecil himself. Little that her enemies did escaped his knowledge. Supposed highwaymen sometimes robbed foreign envoys in England and carried their secret papers to Walsingham. Many were the fanatics who would willingly have murdered a queen whom they considered a usurper and a heretic. Cecil told Elizabeth that her food, her dress, even the perfume she inhaled, should be carefully examined for poison, and that she must guard her apartments against assassins. Before such perils the queen's fearlessness was magnificent.

Religious Strife in Scotland.—It was natural that, in time, the forces working against Elizabeth should centre in Mary Stuart. After efforts to marry her to Edward VI had failed, Mary had married the young prince who became King Francis II, of France. The Roman Catholic world, regarding Elizabeth as disqualified by her heresy, looked upon Mary as the lawful queen of England, for she was next in succession to the throne (see *Genealogies*).



MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS
(1542-1587)

If Elizabeth were out of the way, the old church would be quickly restored in England under this Mary, as it had been under the earlier Mary. Tragic days were, however, in store for Mary Stuart. Elizabeth had not been long on the throne before Scotland, too, declared for the Protestant faith. Soon after Luther's revolt against the church began in 1517, Patrick Hamilton, a young Scot of good birth and education, had come under his influence, and, returning to Scotland, had begun to teach his doctrines. For this he was charged with heresy and burned at St. Andrews in 1528. In 1546 the same fate overtook George Wishart, a bold and zealous Protestant. The prelate who condemned Wishart was Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews. Some of Wishart's friends vowed vengeance, and they took it quickly; within three months after Wishart's death Beaton was murdered.

Scotland Adopts Protestantism, 1560.—By this time Protestant teaching had made some way among the people of Scotland. The Protestant leader was John Knox, a man of untiring energy and resolute will. He had been a notary in early life, and only in 1547, when past forty, did he begin active work as a Protestant minister. His eloquence quickly made him prominent. While in exile for his faith, he spent some time at Geneva and became the disciple and friend of its religious leader, Calvin. This remarkable Frenchman, little influenced directly, as it seems, by Luther, had yet thought out for himself a rigorous system of Protestant doctrine. By 1534 he was the persecuted leader of those in France who turned to Protestantism. Driven into exile for his views, he settled at Geneva in Switzerland, and there in time his supremacy became complete. Under Calvin's system, the Pope, the rule of bishops, Roman Catholic ceremonies, and feasts and fasts were all rejected. The clear, logical teaching of Calvin and the severe austerity of his rule at Geneva delighted Knox. When Queen Mary of England died, Knox saw that Elizabeth would be likely to aid the Protestant party in Scotland, and he hurried home

from Geneva. He had said in a published book that no woman was fit to govern. Elizabeth had read the book and always showed a resentful dislike for him and his views. Yet she found it wise to help the Scottish Protestants, if only as a check upon her rival, Mary Stuart. In August, 1560, the Scottish Parliament abolished all that pertained to the old church, and set up in its place the Protestant system which Knox had seen at Geneva. Queen Mary, absent in France, did not give her assent to this bill, but Knox said openly that this did not matter, and he and his allies among the people and the nobles were prepared to see that the new system was enforced.



JOHN KNOX (1505-1572)

The Murder of Rizzio, 1566.—In 1560 Mary Stuart's husband, Francis II, died. Mary had adorned the French court by her beauty and grace. Now, however, there was no place for her in France, and she saw, sadly enough, that she must return to Scotland, where bitter strife awaited her. When she landed in 1561 and heard mass in her private chapel, Knox attacked her as an idolatress. Stormy years followed. It was important that Mary should marry, and in 1565 she made the unhappy choice of marrying her cousin, Lord Darnley. He proved to be a vicious youth. Mary had made an Italian musician, Rizzio, her confidential secretary, and she treated him as an intimate friend. When Darnley tried to exercise some real authority as king, Rizzio was influential enough to block his plan. Then Darnley was so depraved as to form a plot to kill the secretary whom his wife trusted. In 1566, with an armed band, he burst into the chamber at Holyrood where Mary

sat at supper with Rizzio. Some of the conspirators dragged the screaming secretary into an adjoining room. After he was stabbed to death, they threw his body out of the window.

Flight of Mary to England, 1568.—Shortly after the murder of Rizzio, Mary gave birth to a son, James, destined in time to be king both of Scotland and of England. Mary, young and passionate in temper, soon turned from Darnley with loathing. From this came another murder. When she talked rashly of wishing to be rid of him, there were some to take her at her word. In 1567 Darnley was murdered in a house near Edinburgh. The chief person concerned in the murder was the Earl of Bothwell. It really seems as if Mary had fallen in love with this bold, unscrupulous man. He now divorced his own wife. Then, a few months after Darnley's death, Mary took him as her third husband. The scandal was, of course, great, and it gave colour to the charge that Mary had been a party to the murder of Darnley. The forces against her were now strong, and the Protestant leaders were able to coerce her. In 1567, in danger, if she refused, of being tried for murder, she abdicated in favour of her infant son, James. But friends aided her escape from Lochleven where she was held a prisoner, and, with six thousand men to fight for her, she hazarded a battle against her foes at Langside in 1568. She was beaten, and only by hard riding did she escape across the frontier into England. There she found herself in the power of her most dangerous enemy. Elizabeth held Mary as a prisoner and sternly refused to admit her captive to her presence until she could free herself of the charge of murder. Thus began, when Mary was only twenty-five, the long captivity which was to end on the scaffold nineteen years later.

Rising in England, 1569.—It was not strange that the sorrows of the beautiful queen should appeal to the Roman Catholic party and stir it to renewed activity. All over Europe the old church was rallying its forces. In 1540 the

Pope had given his approval to the founding of the Society of Jesus by Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard. The head of the order took the military title of General, and the members were under a discipline more than military in its insistence upon obedience. The Jesuits devoted themselves henceforth to the special task of restoring the Pope's authority. In 1545 began the sittings of the Council of Trent, called by the Pope to state precisely the doctrines of the church and to carry out practical reforms. After nearly twenty years it closed its sessions in 1563, and henceforth Roman Catholics had clear definitions of the teaching of the church and of the grounds of difference with the Protestants. In England all this cheered the Roman Catholic party. Confident that the people, as a whole, would stand by the old church, two northern peers, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, now led a rising in behalf of Mary. As the Pope readily granted a divorce from Bothwell, who had been married to Mary in an irregular way, it was planned now that Mary should marry the Duke of Norfolk, the greatest noble in England, and, it seemed, the very man to drive out the heretic Elizabeth and put the Roman Catholic Mary on the throne. In November, 1569, a rebel force of about six thousand men took Durham, and in its vast Norman edifice mass was once more celebrated—the last time it was ever heard in one of these old English cathedrals. England did not rise for Mary. Cecil carried her to the south, where she remained a captive; and an army, loyal to Elizabeth, soon dispersed the rebels. The revolt maddened Elizabeth. She gave orders that those who had taken up arms should be cruelly punished, and on village greens in the north, hundreds of bodies dangled in chains as a terrible warning to any who should dare to fight against their sovereign.

The Pope Excommunicates Elizabeth, 1570.—The crisis of the struggle had now come. The defeated rebels declared that if the Pope had spoken out clearly against Elizabeth, the Catholics to a man would have risen against her. So

now the Pope did speak out clearly. In 1570 Pope Pius V issued a bull, denouncing Elizabeth as a heretic who had usurped the crown of England, and freeing the English from allegiance to her. Parliament, now intensely Protestant in tone, answered the Pope's act by a bill, passed in 1571, which made it an offence, punishable with death as treason, to call the queen a usurper or heretic or to introduce a papal bull into England. As the law now stood, any one who should obey the Pope in England was guilty of treason to his sovereign. Probably it is from this time that we may date the fixed resolution of the great mass of the people of England to stand with their queen against the Pope.

The Ridolfi Plot, 1571.—Religious passions were all aflame in Europe; compromise was no longer possible. In the Netherlands the Duke of Alva was destroying thousands of Protestant victims in revolt against their Catholic ruler, Philip II. In France the massacre of a great many Huguenots in cold blood on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, revealed the awful depths of religious hatred and aroused in England angry sympathy for those who suffered. Elizabeth herself used rack and torture as no earlier sovereign had ever used them. The Roman Catholics, to crush whom she used such terrible penalties, declared that they were persecuted for their faith. Elizabeth and her advisers said it was not for their opinions but for their acts of treason. In truth, religion was so mixed up with politics that it was not easy to define the precise limits of each. In 1571 Ridolfi, an Italian banker in London, was leading in a new attempt to assassinate Elizabeth. It had been arranged that Alva should take a force from the Netherlands into England, and that, with the aid of this foreign army, Mary should be made queen. But Burleigh, by a watchfulness little short of marvellous, hunted down the plotters. The Duke of Norfolk, the would-be husband of Mary Stuart, was involved, and in 1572 he was executed.

The Jesuits in England.—The Roman Catholic Church

now took other steps to restore its power. At Douai in northern France, then a part of the dominions of Philip II, William Allen, afterwards cardinal, founded a college for the education of young Englishmen as Roman Catholic missionaries to their native land. The first missionary to England was taken in 1577 and hanged and quartered as a traitor. In 1580 the Jesuits, led by two Englishmen, Parsons and Campion, took up Allen's plan. To defeat them, Parliament passed, in 1581, the first of many severe Acts, which came to be known as the Recusancy Laws (a recusant being one who will not conform to the law). Henceforth, to reconcile any one, or to be reconciled, to the Church of Rome was to incur the penalty of death. Even to hear mass was to incur a heavy fine, as was also the staying away from the church established by law. Yet, in spite of these penalties, the priests continued their work, and twenty or thirty hardy teachers landed in England every year. A good many were taken, and torture, execution, and mutilation of the bodies of the priests went on for the remainder of the reign.

Elizabeth Aids the Revolted Netherlands, 1585.—In the Netherlands, at this time, Protestantism was fighting for its life against Philip of Spain, who had inherited the sovereignty over the Dutch. When, in 1584, William of Orange, the leader of the Protestant cause, was struck down by an assassin, Elizabeth consented to be the protector of the Dutch provinces, and in 1585 she sent her favourite, the Earl of Leicester, to rule in her name. The consequences of her action were wider than she had imagined. Philip of Spain was at length aroused against a fellow-sovereign who thus usurped his rights, and he resolved upon a mighty effort to destroy her.

Babington's Plot, 1586.—Elizabeth soon gave Philip further cause to take action. The final tragedy in the life of Mary Stuart was now at hand. In 1586 appeared a new plot to assassinate Elizabeth, in which the most conspicuous person was a wealthy country gentleman named Babington.

Walsingham set himself to find out whether Mary, who was now confined at Chartley Manor, knew of the plot. Letters passed between her and Babington; a traitor revealed them to Walsingham, and he satisfied himself that Mary had given her approval. When Walsingham had the threads of the plot in his hands, he arrested Babington and others. Elizabeth showed savage anger at the plotters, and allowed some fifteen of them to be executed with the cruel tortures which then preceded a traitor's death.

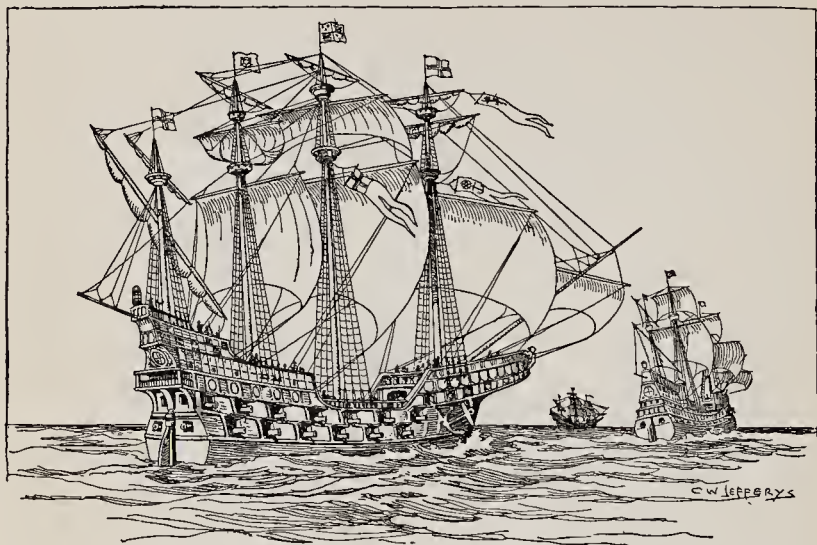
Execution of Mary Stuart, 1587.—The question now was what to do with Mary Stuart. As a plotter of murder should she also die? Mary was sent to the Castle of Fotheringay, and a commission of peers and judges went down to examine her. The commission found Mary guilty, and the penalty—the dread penalty, so common in that day—was to be death. After weeks of doubt, Elizabeth signed Mary's death-warrant, but she would give no order for the execution. William Davison, the secretary who had charge of the warrant, handed it to Burleigh. He laid it before the Privy Council, which decided to act, and on February 7th, 1587, it notified Mary that she must die the next day. She had not believed that Elizabeth would take this step. To send to execution one who had been a sovereign was barely conceivable in an age which regarded rulers as beings apart, specially anointed of God. Mary met her fate with the firmness of a martyr. She was glad, she said, to be sacrificed for the honour of God and of His religion, and she died with queenly dignity. When the news of the execution reached Elizabeth, she broke into violent weeping, declared that she had not authorized the execution, and that Davison had disobeyed her commands. She sent him at once to the Tower and ordered a royal funeral for the dead queen. Few believed Elizabeth's denials, but, whether sincere or not, they were useful. They helped to make union against her difficult, since she, too, expressed grief for an event which shocked Europe and to this day gives the fascination of martyrdom to the career of Mary Stuart.

5. THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA

Philip's Plan to Invade England.—Events had long been leading to a supreme struggle with Spain. Elizabeth was the foremost Protestant ruler in Europe, while Philip II of Spain delighted in the title of the “most Catholic king.” Differences in religion had caused many hostile acts. Philip had encouraged murderous plots against Elizabeth, while she, in turn, had helped his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands. What brought to a head Philip's long-meditated plan of attack on Elizabeth was the execution of Mary Stuart. Roman Catholic Europe was filled with amazed horror at the deed, and the movement against Elizabeth took on the character of a crusade. When Mary was about to die, she wrote to Philip as the Roman Catholic heir to her rights to the crown of England and urged him to exact vengeance for her death.

The Elizabethan Seamen.—Philip was already building a great fleet. He had been annoyed by incessant attacks on Spanish commerce by English seamen even in time of peace. These had learned their trade in a rough school. When Spain and England drew apart on the religious question, after Elizabeth came to the throne, English ships began to prey on Spain. Spanish silks and spices going up the Channel to Antwerp, and also Spanish gold and silver from Spain's great possessions in America, gave to the English varied plunder. They found profit, too, in extending the terrible trade in negro slaves which the Spaniards had already begun. The Spanish colonists in America required a supply of labourers for their mines and plantations. When this toil had quickly killed off the American natives, worked to death by their new and relentless masters, the English proved ready to bring labourers from over the sea. John Hawkins, an English seaman, sailed down the west coast of Africa, kidnapped a cargo of negro slaves, and carried them over to the coast of America, called the Spanish Main, where he sold them at a good profit. The trade was

not only cruel but also illegal, for Spain forbade foreigners to trade with her colonies. A second voyage was successful, but a third, in 1567, proved a failure. Hawkins fell in with a superior Spanish force and lost many men and much



SHIPS OF THE TIME OF ELIZABETH

High, sloping quarter-deck and fore-castle; fighting tops on masts for look-out and for bowmen and musketeers in action; captain's gallery projecting over rudder-post

property, though he and his young nephew, Francis Drake, sailed safely back to England.

Drake's Voyage Round the World, 1577-80.—After this Drake became the leader in the assaults upon Spain. He scorned the trade in slaves, but was quite ready to play the pirate by seizing Spanish ships in time of peace. Even Elizabeth herself was not above sharing the spoil from his enterprises. Sometimes he secured rich booty. The gold and silver of the Pacific coast of America were brought by the Spaniards to the Isthmus of Panama, and carried across, usually on mules, to the Atlantic side, to be shipped to Europe. On one occasion, when Drake had landed on the Isthmus, he was led to a spot where, from a tree-top, he looked out westwards and saw the wide sweep of the

Pacific Ocean. No English ship had sailed as yet on its vast expanse, but now, though the Spanish claimed the Pacific coast of America, Drake was resolved to invade it. He set out from England in 1577 with three ships. One of them foundered, another turned back, and at length Drake, having worked his way through the tortuous Strait of Magellan, found himself with a single ship, the *Golden Hind* of only one hundred tons, tossed by a fierce storm for fifty-three days on the limitless waters south of Cape Horn. When able to sail northwards, he found it easy to enter and to plunder the Spanish seaports on the Pacific, where foreign marauders had been hitherto unknown.



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE
(1545-1596)

He raised the English flag on a spot probably within the present state of California, and, long before New England was founded, called the country "New Albion." He had an impracticable plan to get back into the Atlantic by way of the Arctic Ocean, but in the end he struck out across the Pacific, and in 1580 he arrived in England, having sailed round the world. His voyage proved momentous; he had carried the English flag into new regions, and Englishmen felt henceforth that the whole world was open to their enterprise. Spain, on the other hand, realized that here was a new menace to her power, which she must meet.

The "Invincible Armada."—When at last Philip II was

preparing a fleet against England, Hawkins and Drake and other dauntless "sea-dogs" were watching and waiting for him. Philip soon had a taste of what such men would do. Drake had heard that a great many of Philip's new ships were lying in the harbour of Cadiz, waiting for their equipment. On an April day in 1587 he sailed into the harbour, burned or sank thirty-three helpless ships, and took away with him four, laden with provisions. He called this "singeing the king of Spain's beard," and declared that



DRAKE'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD

twelve English ships would be "a match for all the galleons of the king of Spain's dominions." These bold English leaders had assuredly no fear of Philip. But he went on steadily building his fleet; and so majestic did it seem when he reviewed it in the spring of 1588 that he christened it the "Invincible Armada." His general, the Duke of Parma, commanded in Holland the best disciplined army in Europe. The Armada could guard this army in its crossing to England. The English Roman Catholics, it was hoped, would rise. The heretic Elizabeth would be dethroned, and Philip, heir now of Mary's claims, would become king of a Roman Catholic England. The Pope gave his blessing. France was friendly. England seemed to stand alone against a crusading Roman Catholic Europe.

The English Naval Defences.—That Philip's plan would fail was, however, almost certain from the first. Most of the English, Protestants and Roman Catholics alike, hated him and would fight to the death for their queen. Moreover, before Philip could set foot in England, he must overwhelm the many ships which guarded the English coast. It was not that Elizabeth had a strong royal navy; when the time came she could muster but thirty of her own ships against the one hundred and thirty sent by Philip. But there were other ships to defend England. At that time, strange to say, private owners in England kept up vessels equipped for war. These were often used to prey on the commerce of other states, for such plundering in time of peace, now counted as lawless piracy, was not then so regarded. They were also serviceable for protecting English ships from similar attack. All these vessels, five times as numerous as those of the royal navy, would take part in the fight when the time should come. No doubt, the English ships were smaller than the ships of Spain which, with their high castles in bow and stern, and their broad bows, looked formidable. The English, however, had the advantage of more powerful cannon, with which they could batter the great Spanish ships, while themselves keeping out of range. The English ships were also swifter, and they could beat better to windward and turn more readily than the Spanish. English sailors, too, were very expert. Moreover, on English ships men of gentle birth were not ashamed, when there was need, to work as scamen and to haul ropes side by side with common sailors, while more rigid conceptions of caste divided the Spanish officers from their men.

The commander of the English fleet was Lord Howard of Effingham. In modern times it has been said that he was a Roman Catholic. Though this does not appear to be true, it is yet true that many of that faith fought against Spain. The leaders were wiser than their queen. Drake had begged to be allowed again to attack the Spanish ships in their own harbours before they set out, but this Eliza-

beth, who still had vague hopes that peace might be made, would not permit. Her conduct in the moment of national



LORD HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM
LATER EARL OF NOTTINGHAM
(1536-1624)

danger did her little credit. She always disliked to spend money. Very meagre rations were served out, and the beer which she forced the ships to take was actually so poisonous that a number of men died from drinking it. No doubt, some blame for this bad equipment was due to inexperience rather than meanness, for the ships of private owners were as badly off.

It still remains true, however, that, through the queen's parsimony, the English seamen fought Spain with inadequate supplies of food and ammunition. It was the vessels of the royal navy which took the most serious part in the fighting.

The Defeat of the Armada, 1588.—The Armada of one hundred and thirty ships, carrying about nine thousand sailors and twenty thousand soldiers, was ready early in 1588. At the last moment it was placed under the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who was so little a sailor that, as he declared, he was always ill at sea. He was the greatest noble in Spain and a favourite of Philip, who insisted that the Duke should take a command for which he knew himself to be unfit. Soon after sailing from Lisbon on June 10th, the fleet was scattered in a great storm. Collected again and refitted at Corunna in northern Spain, it came in sight of the coast of Cornwall on July 19th. Drake and other leaders were waiting for it. As the great Spanish ships advanced up the Channel, the English poured in a deadly fire. The Armada anchored off Calais, and then Drake planned a great stroke. At midnight, when the wind was rising and the tide favourable, he sent blazing fire-ships drifting down among the Spaniards. They had no time even to weigh anchor. There was something like panic,

and the Duke of Medina Sidonia ordered the ships to cut their cables and to stand out for open water. He expected to resume his position at daylight, but so difficult a move was full of peril. The ships could not work back to their old anchorage, and, as the day wore on, the wind rose to a gale. The Spaniards were in danger of drifting helplessly upon a lee shore, while the English ships, led chiefly by Drake, kept pouring in a rapid and deadly fire, sinking some ships and battering others with awful slaughter.

In spite of themselves, the Spaniards were driven northwards. Nothing could be done to embark Parma's army in Holland, for the Spaniards had no chance to secure control of the Channel. Panic spread among the soldiers and the sailors, and even when, after a day or two, the weather moderated, they dared not sail back to meet the dreaded English, who were blocking the way. To return to Spain was now the desire of the Spaniards, and the only possible route was round Scotland and Ireland. Many perished from pestilence and by shipwreck; on the strand near Sligo eleven hundred bodies of drowned Spaniards were counted. Many were killed when they put into Irish ports in search of food and water. Not more than a third of those who had set out returned to Spain, and, even of these, the pestilence contracted in the ships carried off the greater part. The blow to Philip was crushing; never again did Spain occupy a dominant place in Europe. On England the effect was not less great; from the time of the Armada the heart of the nation was wholly with its Protestant queen. The peril led to a more intense persecution of the Roman Catholics. During four months in the year of the Armada no fewer than twenty-two priests, two laymen, and one woman were put to death with revolting cruelties.

. 6. THE LAST YEARS OF ELIZABETH

Persecution of the Puritans.—Toward the end of Elizabeth's reign, the Puritans began to give trouble. They were so named because they regarded the Church of Eng-

land as not sufficiently purified from error, not sufficiently strict in its conceptions of Christian duty. They disliked its vestments, its liturgy, and above all the rule of its great prelates. It was not until John Whitgift was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583, that stern measures were taken to make the Puritans conform to the Church of England. Early in the reign a commission had been appointed to enforce the laws, and in 1583 this became a regular Court of High Commission, consisting of forty-four members, twelve of whom were bishops, with wide powers to hunt out and punish those who would not conform to the established church. No one might hold a religious service who did not accept everything in the Book of Common Prayer. A practice, favoured by the Puritans, of holding meetings in private houses, was forbidden.

If the government could claim that it persecuted Roman Catholics because of their political rather than their religious views, it could make no such excuse in regard to these "Independents" or "Separatists." They could not be charged with obeying a foreign ruler, as were the Roman Catholics. They suffered for religion alone. The law was enforced with rigour, and in 1583 two Puritans were hanged for distributing unauthorized books. A little later some scurrilous tracts, full of coarse satire and homely wit directed against the bishops, were secretly printed. They were signed "Martin Mar-prelate." In time Whitgift seized the author, and he, too, was hanged. The Court of High Commission came to mean to the Puritans a relentless tyranny, like that of the Inquisition, and the hatred which it aroused helped to bring one of Whitgift's successors, Laud, to the scaffold.

The Conquest of Ireland.—The greatest event of the later days of Elizabeth was a revolt in Ireland, where things had gone badly since the stirring time of Henry VIII. Ireland was supposed, like England, to have become Protestant, but, in truth, the only Protestants there were the English officials. The native Irish clung to the old church,

and even Mary could find no Protestant heresy to punish in Ireland. Yet, since differences of race are even more vital than those of faith, the Catholic Mary thought that the best way to solve the problem of Ireland was to plant it with English settlers and to remodel it on English lines. Of course, the Irish resented the attempts to fill their country with aliens and fought fiercely against English control. In Elizabeth's reign three bloody rebellions broke out. The butchery in battle was terrible, and in addition thousands of the Irish perished by starvation in their desolated country.

At last Elizabeth sent to Ireland, in 1598, the Earl of Essex, the favoured courtier of her later years. The last and most formidable of the rebels was Hugh O'Neill, the great Earl of Tyrone. Elizabeth, who shared the English contempt and dislike for the Irish, sternly forbade Essex to make terms with Tyrone without her consent. But Essex, spoiled by favour, was rash and headstrong. He treated with Tyrone; it was charged that he even promised to restore papal supremacy in Ireland. Finally, when he returned to England without leave, Elizabeth's anger burst forth. The earl himself made matters worse by his folly. Madly jealous of rivals at court, he invited the Scots to invade England, and in 1600 took up arms to force Elizabeth to change her advisers. The wild scheme completely failed, and for this treason Essex went to the block



ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX
(1567-1601)

in 1601. Elizabeth sent Lord Mountjoy to Ireland to do the work which Essex failed to do. Though, on landing, Mountjoy found all Ireland, except Dublin, in the hands of the rebels, in the end he achieved a real conquest, and after hard fighting, Tyrone submitted to him in 1603. For the first time in its history, the whole of Ireland was at last subdued to English rule. The year of the conquest of Ireland was the last year in the life of Elizabeth. She died in 1603, in her seventieth year, having lived to a greater age than any earlier English ruler.

The Despotism of Elizabeth.—Parliament played no great part in the reign of Elizabeth. During forty-four years it met but thirteen times. Elizabeth said that she had no desire for new laws. What she expected from Parliament was grants of money when need arose. For the rest, she told the members that it was she, and not they, who ruled the state. In the Commons now sat men of wealth and education, far different from the humble knights and traders of an earlier period, and some of them chafed under this absolutism. The chief of those to speak out was a gentleman of large landed estate, Sir Peter Wentworth. Once when the Commons had been, as the queen thought, too busy about church matters, she sent them word that they were not to introduce any bill affecting religion, unless it had been first approved by the clergy. When Wentworth called this a "doleful message," due to the influence of the bishops, he was promptly committed to the Tower for his boldness. At a later time, he pressed the House to ask Elizabeth to name her successor. This, Elizabeth thought, was her private concern, and she was so enraged at Wentworth that she kept him in the Tower for the rest of his life. It is clear that Elizabeth did not admit the right of free speech even in Parliament itself, and, in spite of the liberties secured in Magna Charta, she kept untried persons in prison as long as she liked. It was her practice to grant monopolies to favourites. To Essex she granted, for a term of years, a monopoly of the sale of

sweet wine, from which he reaped great profits. The Commons protested more than once against this abuse of the queen's power, and at last, in 1601, Elizabeth promised to cancel all monopolies that were burdensome. The fact that she could grant privileges shows how incomplete was the control of Parliament over taxation, for such a monopoly was really a tax.

7. THE ENGLAND OF ELIZABETH

The First Colony—Newfoundland, 1583.—"The spacious times of great Elizabeth" were times of enlarged outlook for England. It was under Elizabeth that England claimed her first colony. The ships of all nations flocked to the coast of Newfoundland to take part in the fisheries. The Spanish ships were four times as numerous as those of England, yet Sir Humphrey Gilbert raised the English flag on the island in 1583 and declared it to be a part of the dominions of Elizabeth. In the next year Sir Walter Raleigh, one of Elizabeth's favourite courtiers, secured permission to take possession of lands in America; but though the eastern coast of North America was christened Virginia in honour of England's virgin queen, every attempt at settlement in Virginia failed. The shadowy rule of Newfoundland was all that the queen possessed beyond England and Ireland.

The Search for New Routes to the East.—Even before Elizabeth ascended the throne, the reaching out into new regions had begun. In 1553 Richard Chancellor attempted to sail to China and India, by way of the Arctic Sea, stretching along the north of Russia. Though it was a wild conception, he did reach the White Sea and was allowed to go overland to Moscow. The splendour and wealth of this city greatly surprised him. Until that time Russia had been to the rest of Europe an unknown world, but Chancellor's voyage led to the founding of the Muscovy Company and the opening up of English trade with Moscow. All this seemed, at the time, to be going far afield indeed, but it was

eclipsed when, in 1580, Drake, as we have seen, completed a voyage around the world. At the same time Martin Frobisher was trying to find a new route to Asia by way of the Arctic Ocean, north of America, and he made three voyages to that inhospitable region of ice and snow. He was turned aside from discovery by the vain belief that he had found in the north rich gold-bearing ore. Henry Hudson's name is linked to-day with the river at the mouth of which stands New York and with the great Bay in the far north of Canada. It was in the reign of James I that Hudson made both known to the world. Abandoned by his crew, he perished on the Bay in 1611.

The East India Company Founded, 1600.—The English sailed, too, into the southern seas, ready either to trade with, or to fight, the hated Spaniard. Sir Richard Grenville, in the *Revenge*, met in 1591 a superior Spanish force off the Azores and died with the splendid courage described in Tennyson's famous ballad. At last the English sailed round the Cape of Good Hope to India. For a long time Portugal alone had traded in these regions, since the Pope had granted her the same monopoly of rights in the East as he had given to Spain in the West. But when Philip II annexed Portugal to Spain, the Dutch and the English, warring on Philip and defiant now of the Pope, began to compete with the Portuguese for the eastern trade. The Dutch were first in the field, and the Dutch East India Company was already powerful, when, in 1600, Elizabeth gave a charter to the East India Company, destined to play so great a part in extending English dominion in Asia.

The Growth of London.—English commerce was aided by religious persecution on the continent. Protestants, driven from the Low Countries and from France, carried to England the arts of lace-making and silk-weaving, and also introduced improvements in cloth manufacture. The wool of English sheep had long been famous, and, to maintain this advantage, Parliament forbade the export of living sheep, to prevent the breed from passing to other countries.

London displaced Antwerp, which had been half ruined by Philip II, in his efforts to crush the Dutch Protestants, and this made England the most important trading centre in the world. Already it had one hundred and twenty-five thousand inhabitants, and seemed a city so vast that the government anxiously forbade its further extension.

The Decay of Agriculture and the First Poor Law.—Through the growth of English trade and population, agriculture revived, for now, with a good market at hand, it was even more profitable to till the soil than to use it merely for the pasturing of sheep. In this age we find greater variety in farm and garden products, and, in consequence, better food for both man and beast. The land-holding classes were again growing rich, and rank now depended upon income rather than upon birth. The baron of the earlier age had farmed only to support his numerous retainers; the land-holder of the time of Elizabeth farmed to make money. Yet the lot of the labourers did not improve, and they were often sunk in deep poverty. The proper care of the poor had, indeed, already become a burning question for legislators. Mediæval England had solved it as it is in part solved in America now, by voluntary charity. But the breakdown of the manorial system and the ruin of those helpers of the poor, the monasteries and the guilds, combined to make the claims of the poor urgent. In 1601 a Poor Law was enacted, giving two or three overseers in each parish power to tax the inhabitants to provide for the poor, and from that time Poor Laws have been an important factor in English social life.

Letters.—One, and perhaps the greatest, product of the age of Elizabeth, its literature, can be but briefly dealt with here. It was long before any one appeared who could rival the great genius of Chaucer. After his death in 1400, bitter religious and social strife troubled England for a hundred years, and thought was not free as it had been in the earlier time. The old chivalry had almost disappeared, but tales and legends of knights long remained popular.

Sir Thomas Malory completed in 1470, in the reign of Edward IV, a collection of stories of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table, and this simple and direct prose is the best product of the English literature of the fifteenth century. When the Tudors came to the throne, a new spirit was already abroad. English scholars went to Italy and brought back the best that they could glean from its culture. Learning was cultivated by women as well as by men. Queen Elizabeth startled Oxford by a speech in Greek. Roger Ascham, paying a chance visit to Lady Jane Grey, found her reading with delight a *Dialogue* of Plato in the original Greek; and many of both sexes shared her tastes.

English Prose Writers.—The most notable effort of the time was not, however, spent on ancient learning. The English language grew steadily more important. In the reign of Henry VIII the Bible was newly translated into the same Midland dialect which Chaucer had used and which soon became the national speech. In this tongue an instrument was now ready for the men of genius who could use it. These men of genius were not wanting, and when, under Elizabeth, the nation was plunged into a mighty religious and political struggle, they had the inspiration to attempt great themes. An astonishing number wrote, and wrote well, and the names of the chief writers are still household words. They learned to write not so much from reading books as from contact with life itself. English prose, which matured more slowly than did English poetry, had now some noble exponents. Sir Philip Sidney perished at thirty-two, in 1586, fighting for the Protestant cause in Holland. "If there are any good wars, I will attend," he once wrote to his brother, and this he thought a good war. As statesman, soldier, poet, he was the most admired man of his time, and his death was worthy of his life. When he lay mortally wounded and parched with thirst, a drink of water was brought to him. He saw the longing eyes of a wounded soldier fixed on the water, and

at once handed it to him saying: "Thy necessity is greater than mine." Young as he was, he had already written the *Arcadia*, a romantic and courtly tale, which gives him a permanent place as an English prose writer.

Sidney indulged in flights of fancy suitable for one to whom the world was young and life full of mystery and romance. Other prose writers saw life in more sober hues. When the Church of England was attacked by the Puritans, Richard Hooker (1554?-1600) wrote in its defence *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. His stately and musical diction had never before been equalled in English prose. Yet Hooker had grave faults. Many of the sentences show the influence of Latin, and we need hardly wonder, for he probably read more books in that tongue than in English. Another great Englishman, Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans (1561-1626), wrote much of his work in Latin. He was a lawyer who rose to the high dignity of lord chancellor, but in some way he found time for letters in his busy life. His *Novum Organum*, written in Latin, laid the foundations of modern scientific thought, while in his *Essays* he shows himself to be a writer of a good English prose. His use of Latin seems, however, to indicate that he was not quite sure that English prose would be adequate to express his thoughts or to command the attention of his readers.

The English Dramatists.—English poetry was more advanced and was already quite sure of itself. Edmund Spenser (1553-1599) spent many years as an official in Ireland, grappling with its troubled problems. Yet in such a life he learned to be a great poet, and his *Faerie Queene*, with King Arthur as its hero and the struggle of virtue and vice as its theme, is among the finest products of English genius. It was, however, the dramatists who did the most striking work of this age. At twenty-four, Christopher Marlowe (1564-1593) was writing tragedies that show amazing genius and vivid interest in all types of life. His *Tamburlaine* depicts a world-conqueror, his *Faustus*

a thinker weary of commonplaces on the meaning of life and anxious to find some new key to its riddle. A younger writer, Ben Jonson (1573?-1637), who lived on into the reign of Charles I, excelled in comedy rather than in tragedy. His *Volpone* turns upon the love of money; his *Alchemist* jests at those who professed to read man's destiny. Such writers touched many-sided life. They would be great in any age, and yet their work pales before that of a mightier than they.

The Genius of Shakespeare.—No other land or age has produced a mind equal to that of William Shakespeare. (1564-1616). His early manhood he spent in London,



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE
(1564-1616)

following the lowly vocation of an actor. Before he was thirty years old, however, he had already become famous as a dramatist. Queen Elizabeth showed him honour, and some of the great men of the time received him as a friend. His profound sympathy enabled him to understand every class. He knew the heart of the strong man facing heroic tasks; he knew wo-

man's nature as no other man ever knew it; he read, too, the mind of the blacksmith and the ploughman. We find this knowledge in comedies such as *The Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Tempest*, and *As You Like It*; in tragedies such as *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, and *Romeo and Juliet*; in historical dramas such as *Richard III*, *Henry IV*, *Henry V*, and

Julius Cæsar. Never before had the English tongue been shown to have such amazing power. Shakespeare uses no fewer than fifteen thousand words, while great modern writers like Thackeray use barely five thousand. After Shakespeare no one could doubt the fitness of English to be the language of a great literature and a great people. It was he who made it, at last, a classic tongue.

The Arts.—In Tudor England, art secured no great triumphs. We find Holbein, it is true, a famous painter, in the service of Henry VIII, but he was a foreigner. An



BANQUETING HALL, WHITEHALL

Part of a palace for James I, designed by Inigo Jones, 1622; early example of departure in England from Gothic to Classical style of Greece and Rome, influenced by Italian architect, Palladio. Here Charles I stepped from a window to the scaffold, and here Cromwell died

English school of painting had developed by the time of Elizabeth, but it does not rank high in the history of art.

Gothic architecture had reached its last phase and glory under Henry VII in the striking Perpendicular style. Then, when the study of the literature of the ancient world came to be pursued keenly, its architecture also was copied. England followed the continent in what is known as the Renaissance style—a revival of the columns, arches, and ornaments of classic days. Few churches were built in this age, for already there were more than Protestantism required. But many great mansions were reared, and a



BARLBOROUGH HALL, DERBYSHIRE

Built about 1583; the idea of defence has been abandoned; no moat; large window spaces

comfort unknown in earlier times was provided. English nobles had no longer any thought of fortifying their dwellings. Great windows now let in abundant light and looked out upon lawns, terraces, and open country. Even small houses now had chimneys, in contrast with the former open window or roof for the escape of smoke. Carpets were common, and beautiful tapestry was much used. Chairs and stools were sometimes padded to give greater ease, and

in the huge beds, hung also with tapestry, soft pillows had displaced the former log of wood. Rooms were often decorated with flowers or green boughs, and sweet-smelling herbs were strewn on the floors.

Social Life.—The roads were still so bad that carriages were almost unknown; a team of six horses was sometimes used for even a two-wheeled cart. Toward the end of the reign, however, the pavements in London improved, and



SEDDLESCOMBE MANOR HOUSE, SUSSEX

Typical smaller house, Tudor period; half timber house, main walls of visible beams; spaces filled with lath and plaster

some carriages were to be seen. Manners were not refined; Elizabeth spat upon a courtier whose attire did not please her; she boxed another's ears; and she tickled the back of the Earl of Leicester when he knelt before her to receive his earldom. From the queen down through the upper classes, swearing was fashionable and looked upon as a mark of breeding. Vice was more open and shameless then than it is now. There were gross scenes in the London streets,

and, from unbridled profligacy, some of the finest spirits of the time sank, we know, to early graves. This slackness in morals may account for some of the narrowness and rigidity of the Puritans, who, like the early Christians, found themselves in revolt against a surrounding world which paid little heed to Christian standards.

Dress.—A writer of the time calls it an age of sham. Men padded their stockings to have the appearance of good calves, wore soles of thick cork to appear taller, and adorned themselves with bracelets and ear-rings. Extravagance in male dress went to great extremes. In one instance a single pair of the short breeches, known as trunk-hose, cost a hundred pounds. Coats were often



COSTUMES OF THE TIME OF ELIZABETH

Number from left to right; elaborate neck dress, No. 3 supported by a wire frame; close-fitting bodices of women and doublets of men; hoop-skirts; "trunk-hose" of No. 2 stuffed with rags, wool, or bran; wide skirt or farthingale of No. 3 held out by wheel of bone fastened round the hips; short cloak of velvet of No. 4, with Venetian breeches, wide at the top, tied in at the knee with rosettes of ribbon

slashed in order to show rich linings, and these were of brilliant colours. Men wore in their hats great plumes and feathers of divers colours. The women followed the vain Elizabeth to ridiculous lengths; they carried vast frizzled, and sometimes horned, erections on their heads, and the great ruffs round their necks rose at the back sometimes as

high as this head-dress. Absurd hoops, surrounding the waist with a wire structure which might almost be used as a table, were worn for a time, but the usual fashion of Elizabeth's reign, among both men and women, favoured long waists, in imitation of the queen's figure. "A ship was sooner rigged than a woman," says a satirist of the time.

Food.—There were usually but two meals a day—dinner at about eleven and supper at five; whatever was taken early in the morning did not rank as a meal. Meat, includ-



MUSKETEERS OF TIME OF JAMES I

A rest supports the heavy musket while being fired; long fuse (slow-burning match); bandolier, or leather belt, over left shoulder from which are hung wood or metal cases containing charges of powder; below, a bag of bullets

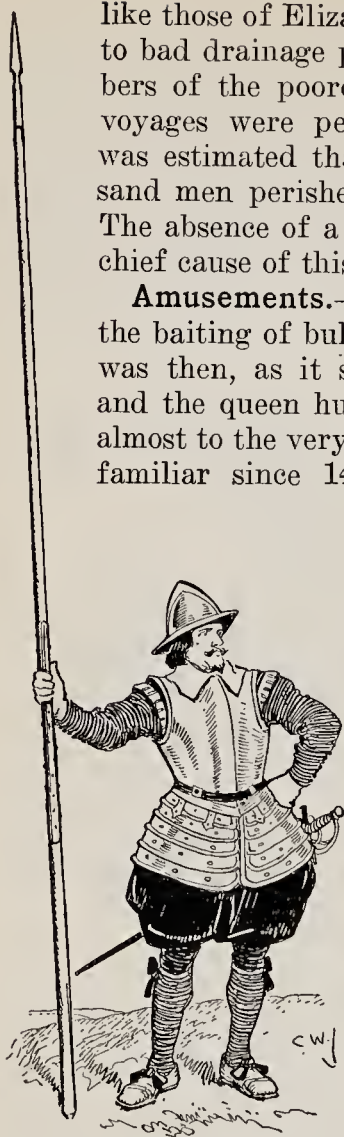
ing fowl and game, was cheap; bread, our other staple besides meat, was little used, vegetables such as beans and peas taking its place. The potato and tea and coffee were still not familiar to Europe. Among the well-to-do, wooden trenchers and wooden spoons were now superseded by silver. Forks were in common use, but only at the very end of Elizabeth's reign. Soap was still scarce. Tobacco was already used by many, notwithstanding blasts against it,

like those of Elizabeth's successor, James I. Owing to bad drainage plague still carried off large numbers of the poorer population of the towns. Sea voyages were peculiarly fatal to human life; it was estimated that within twenty years ten thousand men perished in English ships from scurvy. The absence of a vegetable diet was, no doubt, one chief cause of this mortality.

Amusements.—A favourite Sunday pastime was the baiting of bulls and bears with dogs. Hunting was then, as it still is, the chief sport of kings, and the queen hunted three or fours days a week, almost to the very end of her reign. Playing cards, familiar since 1463, had become a necessity of fashionable life. Archery was still practised on village greens, though the age saw the final displacement of the bow, as a military weapon, by the musket. The tilts and tournaments had died out, but gentlemen still wore armour on ceremonial occasions and portions, at least, of the older armour as a protection in hand-to-hand fighting and from the bullets of the musket.

Changes Under the Tudors.

—The period of the Tudors (1485-1603) is seen in retrospect to have involved changes deeper than those of any previous century. The first Tudor, Henry VII, ended baronial lawlessness and made the sovereign so strong that he seemed to be absolute. No



PIKEMAN OF ELIZABETHAN AND EARLY
STUART PERIOD

Steel helmet, breast and back plates; hinged plates, called fassets, protecting the thighs; steel-pointed pike, sometimes sixteen feet long, was later superseded by the bayonet

tyrant was ever more ruthless than his son, Henry VIII. Yet Henry was careful to make his tyranny legal. He was a despot by Act of Parliament. The break with the Roman Catholic Church, the seizure of abbey lands, the dread executions of More and other leaders, were all duly authorized by Parliament. Before Henry's daughter, Elizabeth, died, it was clear that Parliament would assert its authority even against the king. Already the forces were working which, in the end, caused Parliament to bring a king to the block of the executioner. The Tudor period saw other striking movements. The first Tudor was a devout Roman Catholic; the last Tudor was the leader of a Protestant nation with religious passions inflamed by nearly a century of strife. This break with tradition turned the energies of the English in new directions. Under the Tudors a new type of land-holder displaced the monastic orders as owners of a large part of the land of England. Under the Tudors Englishmen were born to a new self-reliance and went far afield, to Russia, to America, to India, for trade and adventure. Most striking of all, under the Tudors the English mind reached its greatest triumph in the genius of Shakespeare. From his age English has ranked in literature with Greek and Latin, and English thought has spread to every world centre.

CHAPTER XI

THE GREAT CIVIL WAR

1. THE ATTEMPT OF JAMES I AT ABSOLUTE RULE

James I, 1603-1625.—Elizabeth had steadily refused to recognize any one as her rightful successor. She feared that the person named might become the centre of plans directed against herself. Parliament had denied nothing to Henry VIII and had granted him power to name his successor. His will provided that, after Elizabeth, the crown should go to the descendants of his younger sister, Mary. Edward Seymour, the surviving heir to these claims, was, however, an obscure person, quite unfit to be a ruler. "I will have no rascal's son in my seat, but one worthy to be a king," said Elizabeth, when asked as to Seymour's rights, and it was clear that she wished James VI of Scotland to succeed her. This Stuart king was descended from Margaret Tudor, the elder sister whom Henry VIII had passed over in his last will. It was surely a strange fate that gave the throne of Elizabeth to the son of that Mary, Queen of Scots whom she had executed. James had been king of Scotland since early infancy. He had had rugged experiences with the stern Presbyterian leaders. They told him in strong terms that there were two kingdoms, the church and the state, and that in the spiritual kingdom the ministers of religion were supreme.

The Character of James.—James was undoubtedly able and shrewd. He was learned, too, and, like his predecessors, Alfred and Henry VIII, an author, who wrote some fairly creditable books. His personal life was pure, and he was so far-sighted as to press for a vital union of England and Scotland a hundred years before it was brought about. He talked, though he did not always act, in support of

toleration in religion, and throughout his career he showed a hatred of war and a love of peace that did him credit. Yet his bearing was not impressive. Fontenay, a French agent in England, describes James admirably: "He is wonderfully clever and . . . is full of honourable ambition and has an excellent opinion of himself. Owing to the terrorism under which he has been brought up, he is timid with the great lords, and seldom ventures to contradict them; yet his especial anxiety is to be thought hardy and a man of courage. He speaks, eats, dresses, and plays like a boor. . . He is never still for a moment, but walks perpetually up and down the room. His gait is sprawling and awkward, and his voice loud. . . His body is feeble, yet he is not delicate; in a word he is an old young man . . . prodigiously conceited. . . He is idle and careless, too easy, and too much given to pleasures, especially hunting. . . He told me that, whatever he seemed, he was aware of everything of consequence that was going on and . . . that he could do more in an hour than others in a day." His broad Scotch accent offended fastidious ears at the English court.



JAMES I

Religious Parties.—As soon as Elizabeth was dead, James was proclaimed king. He had been waiting for the news and set out at once from Edinburgh to London. His coming aroused hopes in all three of the great religious parties. Each of the four previous rulers had changed the religion of the English state, and it was still thought that a new ruler might follow a similar course. The Roman Catholics expected much from the son of the martyred Mary Stuart; the Puritans knew that James had been reared a Presbyterian and hoped that he would favour

them; while the party of the bishops counted on James to maintain the church as Elizabeth had left it. Wise conciliation might now have done much, but there was no wise conciliation.

The Millenary Petition.—The Puritans met with the first rebuff. They presented a so-called “Millenary Petition” from a thousand discontented clergy. They did not wish to break away from the Church of England, but they asked that some things should no longer be forced upon them; that the sign of the cross in baptism, and the terms “priest” and “absolution” should be omitted from the Book of Common Prayer, and that they might be permitted to use the surplice or not as they liked. They desired, also, simpler music in the services, a stricter observance of Sunday, more and better preaching, and similar practical reforms. The House of Commons favoured the Puritan demands. The bishops, on the other hand, begged James to make no concessions. Bancroft, soon to be Archbishop of Canterbury, even objected to the Puritan proposal for a better translation of the Bible, but was sharply rebuked by the king.

The Conference at Hampton Court, 1604.—James arranged a conference between the two parties at the palace of Hampton Court. He was delighted to be arbiter in a theological discussion. The speakers fell on their knees when they pleaded their cause before him, and it was he who spoke the final word. At one point Reynolds, the leader of the Puritans, made use of the word “presbyter.” To James it called up many humiliations in past years from the stiff Presbyterians of Scotland. “A Scottish Presbyter,” he said angrily, “agreeth as well with a monarchy as God with the devil.” He went on to declare that the enemies of bishops were the enemies of monarchy too—a conviction which he summed up pithily in the words “no bishop, no king.” As king, therefore, he declared that he would stand by the bishops and make the Puritans conform

or harry them out of the land. The church party used its triumph without mercy. It was now required that persons holding office in the church should declare that they believed nothing in the Prayer Book to be contrary to the word of God. Some three hundred Puritan clergy, who refused to make this declaration, were driven from their places. One good result, however, came from the conference—it arranged for a new translation of the Bible, and this authorized version appeared in 1611. The king, by whose authority it was undertaken, must, with all his faults, be counted a benefactor of the English-speaking nations. The version remains their most valued literary treasure. Not until 1885, nearly three hundred years later, was a revised version put forth by authority. This is now widely used, but millions of readers of the Bible still prefer the musical and stately diction of the authorized version of King James.

The Persecution of Roman Catholics.—James did not persecute the Puritans only; he also sharply checked the Roman Catholics. Elizabeth's pressure upon them had been terrible. The wealthier were forced to pay twenty pounds a month for leave to stay away from Anglican services, and the poorer "recusants" who absented themselves forfeited two-thirds of their land as long as they did not conform. For a few months James adopted toward the Roman Catholics a milder policy, but he soon found that, whenever their situation became easier, their numbers tended to increase, for then weak brethren dared openly to acknowledge their faith. Within nine months after the death of Elizabeth, when the law was, for a time, relaxed, one hundred and forty priests landed in England. The activity of the Roman Catholics alarmed the king. He had, moreover, a strong reason for resuming the old oppressions, since the fines of Roman Catholics added to his revenues. Accordingly, in February, 1604, he ordered the banishment of the priests. In July Parliament passed a new Recusancy Act reviving all the old penalties against Roman Catholics,

and early in 1605 nearly six thousand persons were convicted of recusancy and variously punished. The spirit of the age was already milder than it had been under the Tudors, for the lord chancellor warned the judges who dealt with recusants to shed no blood.

The Gunpowder Plot.—To be treated thus by the son of Mary Stuart brought profound disappointment to the Roman Catholic party. Among them was a leader ready for any daring scheme. Robert Catesby, a man of great strength and personal beauty and of winning manners, belonged to an old and wealthy Roman Catholic family. Under Elizabeth, his father had paid to the government one-fifth of his income for recusancy, and had, besides, spent years in prison. The son while still young had inherited his property. At twenty-eight he joined in Essex's outbreak and was fined a sum equal to about thirty thousand pounds in money of the present day. He brooded over his wrongs, and at last, in a mad spirit of fanaticism, conceived the plan of destroying the king and the Parliament of England by blowing them up with gunpowder. It was intended that the king's two sons should perish with him, and that his remaining child, an infant daughter, should become queen and be reared in the Roman Catholic faith. The scheme was wild and reckless, and the conspirators acted without the consent of the better elements in the Roman Catholic party.

Catesby associated himself with Guy Fawkes, a new convert to his faith, of unflinching courage; and these two resolute men gathered about them weaker ones. Preparations went on for quite a year. The conspirators packed with gunpowder a cellar under the House of Lords, and laid iron bars upon the barrels to make the expected explosion more destructive. Parliament was to open on November 5th, 1605. As the time drew near, some of the plotters grew anxious to save friends of their own faith. Roman Catholics sat in Parliament and would perish with the other victims. Lord Monteagle, a Roman Catholic

peer, was warned in an anonymous letter to stay away from the coming Parliament, since a terrible blow would fall upon it. The government got on the track of the plot but kept quiet until the last moment. Then suddenly Fawkes was seized among the barrels of gunpowder. On learning this news Catesby and his companions rode off into the country, but they were taken or killed, fighting to the last. Fawkes, when tortured, told all; and he and some of the other conspirators perished upon the scaffold. The Gunpowder Plot affected the English nation profoundly. Though the Roman Catholics as a whole were not responsible for it, the punishment fell, none the less, upon them. Henceforth, in the popular mind, they were capable of any crime, and Parliament enacted against them new recusancy laws. They were forbidden to appear at court, to travel more than five miles from home, to hold any public office, or to practise in any of the learned professions, and their houses were always to be open to official inspection. Until the nineteenth century they suffered these disabilities with little hope of redress. One relief Roman Catholics found soon after the Gunpowder Plot. In 1632 Lord Baltimore, a zealous Roman Catholic, secured from Charles I a vast grant of land in America, which was named Maryland in honour of Queen Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I. There was religious toleration in Maryland, and in the colony many Roman Catholics found refuge.

The King's Extravagance.—James was always in financial distress. Elizabeth had spent only about £300,000 a year upon the army, the navy, and the whole work of government, for the national revenues were still absurdly small. James, coming from Scotland, a very poor country, thought himself rich in England. In the second year of his reign, he incurred debts amounting to nearly £800,000—the revenue of two whole years. His reckless extravagance exhausted the treasury and made it necessary to devise new ways of getting money. James began to sell even titles. He sold some peerages for £10,000 each, and

he made £90,000 by creating and selling the new hereditary title of baronet to well-to-do land-holders. High offices in the state, too, he sold; that of lord high treasurer brought £20,000. He levied occasional "Benevolences." Yet in spite of this he was hard pressed for money.

The Favourites of James.—Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, the younger son of Elizabeth's Burleigh, was James's chief minister, until his death in 1612. He worked



GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM (1592-1628)

hard to bring order into the finances, but was always harassed by foolish expenditure on the part of his master. The favourites of James cost him large sums. Robert Carr, afterwards Earl of Somerset, a Scot of whom the English courtiers were very jealous, was chief favourite until 1615. Then, when he was convicted of a share in a famous murder, that of Sir Thomas Overbury, James refused to see him again. George Villiers, who suc-

ceeded Somerset, was good-looking and lively, but shallow. James came to depend wholly on him, granted him large sums, and in the end made him Duke of Buckingham, a position that gave him rank almost regal, and placed him above the older nobility, among whom the great dignity of duke had died out. "Christ had his John, and I have my George," James said fondly; and to the end Buckingham, though still a young man, ruled the king.

The Divine Right of Kings.—Under Elizabeth Parliament had already grown restive at the sovereign's despotism, and it would not bear so much from an alien Stuart king. James soon aroused its anger by his emphatic assertion of the divine right of kings. He said quite openly that to question the king's will was like the blasphemy and atheism which dispute God's decrees. The money of his

subjects belonged to him, he often declared, and he might take it as he wished. During his reign of twenty-two years he called but four Parliaments. With the second he came to an open rupture, and he did not summon its successor until after seven years. He had no understanding of the nature and history of English institutions. Parliament, he thought, should be his obedient servant, and he said so quite openly. He declared that he alone should decide who might and who might not sit in the House of Commons, and that Parliament might debate only such matters as he chose to ask it to consider.

The Attack on Monopoly.—Like Elizabeth, James levied duties on his own authority, and when one Bate, a merchant, challenged an imposition on currants which Parliament had not granted, the judges upheld the king's right, in spite of its violation of principles laid down in the Great Charter (p. 90). James continued to grant the monopolies against which the Commons had protested under Elizabeth. Finally, in 1621 the Commons condemned the whole system and assailed in a high-handed manner some of the king's servants who profited by it. Sir Giles Mompesson was the special object of their anger, and his methods show the evils which the Commons attacked. Mompesson was in charge of the monopoly of licensing inns. The fees were to be levied for his own personal gain, but he was required to share the profits with the king. It was proved that Mompesson had licensed disorderly houses, and that, on the other hand, he had levied fines upon many decent innkeepers guilty of no offence against the state. He was a member of Parliament, and Parliament, intensely earnest in fighting monopoly, dealt with him summarily. For his conduct he was condemned to be led along the Strand riding with his head to his horse's tail, to be fined, to be imprisoned for life, and to be for ever held an infamous person. He fled from the kingdom, and James, a weak man, in spite of his blustering talk, was forced to give up all monopolies except what we now call patent rights.

The Fall of Bacon, 1621.—When the question of the king's rights was aired in the courts, Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans, the lord chancellor, one of the greatest names in the history of English thought, steadily supported the royal claims, while Sir Edward Coke, chief-justice of the court of King's Bench, took the opposite view of the law. To punish Coke, James dismissed him from his great office in 1616, and it was a renewed cause of anger to the nation to find that even judges were not secure if they should



FRANCIS BACON
VISCOUNT ST. ALBANS
(1561-1626)

oppose the king's claims. The House of Commons found at last an opening to retaliate upon Bacon. A judge's relations to suitors were then less restricted than they are now. The small salaries of the judges were usually supplemented by fees, and a judge often accepted a present from one side or the other. Bacon received, in this manner, large amounts, paid while judgment was pending. There was no evidence that he had been influenced by the payments, for his judgments were adverse to some at least of those who had given him money. He was, however, open to attack, and in 1621 the House of Commons was only too glad of the opportunity to accuse him. He was impeached by the Commons. This involved that he should be tried by the House of Lords; his conviction was certain, and even Bacon himself admitted that it was just. For accepting bribes he was dismissed from office, imprisoned for a time, and heavily fined. His fall shows the reviving power of the Commons.

The Plymouth Colony, 1620.—It was in James's reign that England at last gained a firm footing in America. In 1607 the English redeemed the earlier failure of Raleigh and founded a successful colony in Virginia, with its capital at Jamestown, so named in honour of the king.

Religion had little to do with the beginnings of Virginia, for its founders went there simply to make their fortunes. But another colony was soon founded with religion as its chief motive. James had carried out his threat to harry the Puritans out of the land. Some of these earnest people, known as Independents, or Separatists, finding their meetings broken up, themselves often imprisoned, and life made intolerable, began, about 1608, to migrate to Holland. Life was hard there, and in the end they decided to found a colony in America. Friends who had remained in England joined them, and a company of about one hundred colonists, sailing from Plymouth in the *Mayflower*, landed, in 1620, on what they called Plymouth Rock, and founded on the bleak shores of New England perhaps the most remarkable colony that the world has ever seen.

The Execution of Raleigh, 1618.—In foreign affairs James aimed at peace. His daughter, Elizabeth, married, in 1613, Frederick, Elector-Palatine, a German Protestant prince. James had a plan that his heir, Charles, should marry a princess of Spain, the leading Roman Catholic power. He thus hoped to gain influence with both powers, Roman Catholic and Protestant, and to avert the approaching terrible struggle known to us as the Thirty Years' War. James's desire to conciliate Spain led to a cruel deed. Sir Walter Raleigh had been a favourite of Elizabeth and was the last survivor of the leaders who had fought against Spain in her time. Early in the reign of James, he had been sentenced to death for conspiracy and had since been kept in the Tower in a captivity so mild that his family continued to live with him. In the effort to found the English colony in America



SIR WALTER RALEIGH
(1552?–1618)

under James, he had failed dismally. Now he declared that he knew of a gold mine in America from which he could bring home great wealth. At last, in 1616, James permitted him to lead a party to the Orinoco River. They found no mine, but at a time when James least wished to offend Spain, they attacked a Spanish village and shed Spanish blood. On Raleigh's return, Spain demanded angrily that he should be handed over to her to be punished for murder. James did not accede to this demand, but, to please Spain, he ordered the old sentence of death to be carried out, and in 1618 Raleigh was executed.

The Proposed Spanish Marriage.—The sacrifice of Raleigh to Spain proved ineffective. The marriage treaty was not completed; the war which was so long to desolate Germany, broke out; and James's son-in-law, the Elector-Palatine, was soon overwhelmingly defeated, England tingled with sympathy for the Protestant cause, of which the Elector was the champion, but the dallying with Catholic Spain went on. In 1623 Prince Charles and Buckingham went to Madrid, hoping to hasten the marriage. It never took place. A demand that England should give full religious liberty to the Roman Catholics, the objections of the young princess to a Protestant husband, and the certainty that Spain would give no help to the Protestant Elector, wore out the young prince's patience. He and Buckingham returned, embittered against Spain and determined to precipitate war. Parliament, which met in 1624, was eager to strike Roman Catholic Spain, and for once agreed with Buckingham, whom it was soon to look upon as its arch-enemy. James, the lover of peace, was forced into the background; Buckingham was the real master.

2. THE MISRULE OF BUCKINGHAM AND THE PETITION OF RIGHT

The War with Spain.—Buckingham had his way, and the war with Spain was popular. But the Commons, which had long been fighting for its rights, was chary of voting

money, and in any case wished to have some control in spending it. The members desired to aid Holland, which was still fighting Spain, and to see a revival of the glorious days of the Armada, when England, victorious on the sea, had reaped a rich harvest at the expense of Spain's commerce. Buckingham, however, had other plans, and the Commons, with no control over the king's ministers, could not stop him. Buckingham equipped an English force of twelve thousand men for war, not on the sea, but on land in Germany. This army gathered at Dover in 1624, but by the time it set out all available money was exhausted, and the force had no provisions and no money with which to buy them. It went by way of Holland and tried to advance in open boats up the Rhine to the seat of war. When winter set in, exposure and starvation wrought fearful havoc among the men. Three-fourths of them were soon dead or dying, and the whole expedition was a dismal failure.

The Failure at Cadiz, 1625.—It was in these days of gloom that James I died, in 1625, bitterly lamenting that he had been dragged into war. Under his successor, Charles I, Buckingham was still supreme. In order to check Spain Buckingham made an alliance with France. A few weeks after coming to the throne, Charles I married Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV of France and sister of the reigning king, Louis XIII. She was, of course, a Roman Catholic, and Charles promised to stop the persecution in England of adherents of her faith. All this alarmed the Commons, whose leaders were eager to enforce the strict laws against the Roman Catholic Church. A new failure of English arms soon came. Buckingham now tried to strike Spain on the sea. He sent a fleet and army to take the Spanish port of Cadiz and to secure the richly-laden ships which were expected to arrive from America. The whole affair was badly managed; everything went wrong; and, instead of a renewal of the days of Drake, the English saw in their streets many ill-clothed and half-starved men,

returned from Cadiz with a story of defeat and loss due to bad leadership.

Impeachment of Buckingham, 1626.—The anger of the nation found expression in 1626, when Charles met his second Parliament. The chief leader in the attack on Buckingham was Sir John Eliot. Like so many of those who now sat in the Commons, he was a man of means, of good family and education, and a deeply religious Puritan. He had studied the constitution of England and knew the powers which the Commons had claimed in earlier days



SIR JOHN ELIOT
(1592-1632)

(p. 144). In Eliot's delicate body there burned a fiery spirit. He had a gift of impassioned oratory, which made him master of the Commons. Two things he and those who acted with him cared for intensely—their Puritan faith and their political liberties. In early life Eliot had been intimate with Buckingham, and he had supported the policy of making war on Spain. Now, however, he

saw that nothing effective could be done until the blundering Buckingham was driven from office. This was difficult, for Charles steadily declared that, whatever control the Commons might have in regard to taxation, the king had the right to name his own ministers. The only means which the Commons could adopt to reach the hated minister was to accuse him of some crime. This they did in 1626, when Eliot led in the impeachment of Buckingham, summing up his misdeeds in a fiery speech. Would Charles let the trial go on? The answer was soon given, for, on the day after this speech, Eliot and another member of the Commons were sent as prisoners to the Tower. Charles was

exercising the power often used by Elizabeth, of confining without trial those who offended him. But the times had changed. The Commons refused to do any business until its members were released, and after a week Charles gave way on this point, but at the same time stopped the trial of Buckingham before the House of Lords by dissolving Parliament.

The War with France, 1627.—Buckingham was still sanguine. A new expedition was soon on foot. By this time the alliance with France had broken down, and Charles, though he had married a French wife, turned to help the French Protestants shut up in Rochelle, whom Richelieu, the great minister of Louis XIII, was trying to reduce to obedience. In 1627 Charles declared war with France. A fleet of one hundred sail, with an army of some seven thousand men, set out, and this time Buckingham, who had boundless confidence in his own powers, either as statesman or soldier, led it in person. Again there was dismal failure. The French drove Buckingham from the island of Ré, where he had landed to aid Rochelle, and he brought back to England less than half of the army which he had led to France. To thousands of English households his failure had meant bereavement and misery.

Discontent at the King's Policy.—While these events were happening, no Parliament met and no supplies were voted. To get money the king now went further than Elizabeth would have dared to go. He demanded loans from well-to-do people and sent to prison some of those who refused to pay what he asked for. He obliged men of the poorer classes to serve in the army and navy against their will, and punished, under strict military law, those who resisted. Barracks for the army were not provided in those days, and Charles forced private persons to give lodging to his levies of soldiers; English gentlemen who were already chafing under the king's policy, now had unwelcome guests thrust into their very households.

The Petition of Right, 1628.—In 1628 Buckingham, all

undaunted by his failure before Rochelle, was planning a new expedition to that place. Great sums were needed, and at last, in March, Charles again called a Parliament. The Commons, now thoroughly aroused by the king's course, drew up, under the direction of Eliot and others, a Petition of Right, and refused any vote of money until Charles should grant what they asked. The Petition struck at the root of Charles's arbitrary acts. He must promise four things: 1. To levy no gift, loan, or tax without consent of Parliament. 2. To cease the billeting of soldiers or sailors in private houses. 3. To imprison no one contrary to the law of the land. 4. To stop the punishments under martial law which he had inflicted.

The Murder of Buckingham.—Charles resisted as long as he could, but his need of money to provide aid for Rochelle, now in dire straits, was urgent. At last he assented to the Petition of Right, and in June, 1628, it became the law of the land. He had yielded something; he had promised no longer to violate the law. But the chief ground of quarrel was hardly touched as yet, for there was nothing in the Petition of Right affecting the question whether Parliament should control the king's ministers. Charles could still think that he had really yielded nothing. His subjects soon learned, indeed, that his promises could not be relied upon. A tragic event followed quickly. In August, 1628, Buckingham was at Portsmouth, ready to set out to relieve Rochelle, when an officer, Felton, stabbed and instantly killed him.

The Aims of Charles I.—The death of Buckingham made no change in the hostility between the king and the Parliament. The expedition to relieve Rochelle went on under another leader and failed as dismally as its predecessors. Since all hope of effective English aid had disappeared, Rochelle surrendered, and the Protestant party in France was finally ruined. Of course, the English Protestants fumed at the incompetence which had rendered their aid ineffective. The death of Buckingham brought this change—

that the Commons were no longer in strife with a minister, but were face to face with the king himself. They found him of an unyielding temper. In bearing, Charles was stately and dignified. He had amiable personal qualities. He proved a tender husband and a fond father. He took his share in manly sports, was a scholar in church history, and a good judge of both music and painting. But his mind was narrow and unsympathetic. He would not see that times had changed. When he was born, Elizabeth still reigned, and the memory of her proud and even fierce claims to be above Parliament was still fresh in his mind. Charles well understood how absolute she had been and saw no reason why he should not be like her. This opinion he never changed. Often he seemed to yield some minor point, but he always believed that, as king, he was a being apart, that he had the God-given right to carry on the government, and that it was the duty of the people to obey. With his dying breath he asserted these views.



CHARLES I

The King Levies Tunnage and Poundage.—In spite of the Petition of Right, which the Commons thought would settle all questions of taxation, a new dispute soon broke out. During many centuries it had been the custom for Parliament to grant to the ruler at the beginning of a reign an income for life. Among other things he was given the right to levy duties on goods entering England—Tunnage, a tax on each tun of wine, and Poundage, a tax on the value of each pound of merchandise. When Charles I came to the throne, the Commons, anxious to maintain control of all taxation, had passed a bill to grant Tunnage and Poundage to the king for one year, but for one only. Before the

bill passed the Lords, Charles had dismissed his first Parliament, and now, for three years, he had collected the tax without any direct grant having been made to him. Parliament met in 1629. Custom House officers had seized the property of a member of Parliament who refused to pay Tunnage and Poundage, since Parliament had not yet granted it; and now the fiery Eliot demanded that these officials should be summoned before the House of Commons for violating the right of a member of Parliament to have his goods exempt from seizure. Charles gave orders that the Custom House officers should not obey the Commons, and that the House itself should adjourn.

The Commons Defy the King, 1629.—This action enraged the Commons. Three years earlier, in 1627, Charles had forbidden the Commons even to criticise Buckingham, and the members had then shown hot anger at the king's course. Now it was seen that the king had changed in nothing, and that he was resolved to keep the House from discussing any topic which he disliked. When a debate began on the grievances of the Commons, the Speaker rose promptly to say that he had had the king's order to adjourn the House. "You shall sit till we please to rise," cried Denzil Holles, one of the members, and he and another member rushed to hold the Speaker in his chair by force. The doors were locked, and, while a confused struggle was going on, Eliot read resolutions to the effect that the man was an enemy of his country who supported the three things to which the Commons objected; changes in religion favouring Roman Catholicism, which, they thought, Charles intended; the levying of Tunnage and Poundage without authority of Parliament; and the voluntary payment of these duties. The resolutions were adopted with shouts of "Aye, Aye," and then the members poured from the House.

The King Dissolves Parliament, 1629, and Calls None for Eleven Years.—The crisis had come. By the Petition of Right Charles had agreed to keep no one in prison without proper trial. But now, in his anger, he cast that

measure to the winds and promptly sent Eliot and eight other members to the Tower. Then he dissolved Parliament. So mischievous did its course seem to him that now he intended to get on without it, and for eleven years Parliament did not again meet. Moreover, he made its leaders suffer for their resistance. That memorable scene in the Commons cost Eliot his life. He rejected every effort to draw from him an apology for his course, and Charles would not release him until he made it. After three years of confinement, Eliot was attacked by consumption. His family then begged that the dying man might go to his home, but Charles was unyielding, and Eliot died in the Tower as Peter Wentworth had died there in the time of Elizabeth. "Let Sir John Eliot be buried in the church of that parish where he died," Charles wrote on the petition asking that Eliot's body might be taken to lie with his fathers; he was implacable even to the dead.,

3. THE TYRANNY OF LAUD

The Religious Policy of Laud.—More than political differences estranged Charles from many of his people. He was, also, fighting Puritanism. His chief guide in regard to religious policy was William Laud, who had already become a bishop under James I, and who, in 1633, was made Archbishop of Canterbury by Charles. He was, like Charles himself, a well-meaning but narrow man, quite without sympathy or tact. Laud's views in regard to the church were those of Charles in regard to the state; in both spheres it was the duty of the people to obey their rulers. Laud wished to destroy Puritanism. In early life he had declared publicly that Presbyterians were as far from the



WILLIAM LAUD, ARCHBISHOP
OF CANTEBURY (1573-1645)

truth in one direction as Roman Catholics in the other. To Laud the truth was to be found in the system established in England, where an Act of Uniformity required every one to accept the same form of worship, and where the church was ruled by the bishops, with the authority of the king behind them. Enforce uniformity, said Laud; make every one obey the church system established by law, and in time differences will disappear; unity will follow uniformity. It was a shallow view, but Laud never wavered in his conviction of its truth.

The Court of High Commission.—With Laud now supreme in the church, days of trouble lay before the Puritans. He soon attacked their most treasured beliefs. The communion table had stood, like any other simple table, in the body of the parish churches. Laud now ordered it to be treated as a sacred altar and to be placed in the chancel inside a railing before which communicants should kneel. Laud's own practice, when he entered a church, was to bow reverently toward the table and to bow, also, during the service when the name of Jesus was mentioned. One of the most sacred convictions of the Puritans was their reverence for the Sabbath. Their strict Sabbath, however, Laud hated. James I had disliked it, too, and had issued, in 1618, an order permitting dancing, archery, setting up of the Maypole, and other sports, on Sunday afternoons. In 1633, inspired, as was believed, by Laud, Charles re-issued this "Declaration of Sports," and now ordered the clergy to read it from their pulpits. Great was the anger of the Puritans. One clergyman read it and then said: "You have heard God's and man's commandments; obey which you please." But it was dangerous to oppose Laud. In the time of Elizabeth a Court of High Commission had been created to enforce discipline in the church. This court Laud now used with great effect. Clergymen who did not carry out everything ordered in the Prayer Book, who resisted the removal of the communion table to the chancel, or the order to bow in the services at the name

of Jesus, were likely to find themselves dismissed, or at least suspended, from their posts. The Puritans believed that Laud was a Roman Catholic at heart; and even Roman Catholics thought the same, for in 1633 the Pope offered to make him a cardinal.

The Severity of the Court of Star Chamber.—It did not matter to Laud that most Englishmen were against him. He had the king on his side, and to him this was authority enough. High and low soon felt the weight of his heavy hand. Alexander Leighton, a Scot, but a clergyman of the Church of England, living in London, wrote a book attacking the rule of bishops. He also attacked Queen Henrietta Maria because she was a Roman Catholic. Leighton's language was certainly scurrilous, but his punishment was terrible. He was not brought before the ordinary courts. There a jury would be necessary, and an English jury might favour a Puritan. So Leighton and others were tried by the Court of Star Chamber, used by Henry VII and later rulers to check troublesome persons, a court whose verdicts no jury hampered. Those who sat in it were not trained judges, but usually members of the king's own council, who might put the accused person on oath, force from him evidence against himself, and threaten witnesses as they liked. Leighton was sentenced, in 1630, to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, to be degraded from holy orders, to be publicly flogged, to have one ear cut off, one of his nostrils slit, and to be branded on the cheek with the letters S.S., "Sower of Sedition." A few days later he was to be flogged again and to have the other ear cut off and the other nostril slit. He was then to be imprisoned for life. Leighton says that Laud reverently thanked God when this terrible sentence was imposed.

Even the severity of Leighton's punishment did not silence the Puritans. William Prynne, a lawyer, wrote a book attacking stage plays as the source of all evils; rulers who allowed them were aiding wickedness; women actresses were vile characters. It so happened that dramas were

played at Charles's court, and that the queen herself had recently taken part in one; thus Prynne offended both the king and the queen. He was brought before the Court of Star Chamber and sentenced to be imprisoned for life, to be fined five thousand pounds, and to have both ears cut off. In 1634, when this terrible punishment was imposed, even Puritans hardly pitied Prynne, for he had made scurrilous attacks on the drama, which Milton, the prince of Puritan writers, favoured. While in prison Prynne managed to write, and in 1637 an attack on bishops again brought him before the Court of Star Chamber. It ordered that what was left of his ears should be sheared off, and that the letters S.L., for "Seditious Libeller," should be branded on his cheeks. Meanwhile public opinion had changed. When Prynne suffered the second time, a great crowd showed its sympathy with him. He said that "S.L." stood for "Stigmata Laudis," "the marks of Laud," and all men knew that the Star Chamber was carrying out Laud's policy. Prynne and other victims came to be looked upon as martyrs. The mind of the nation was hardening against the Archbishop, but he did not see it. While the king supported him he was content.

4. THE RISE AND FALL OF STRAFFORD

Wentworth's and Laud's Policy of "Thorough."—Another man took a leading place in the counsels of Charles at this time. Sir Thomas Wentworth, in time to be Earl of Strafford, a rich land-owner in the north of England, had united with Eliot and other leaders of the Commons in opposition to Buckingham. Later, however, he lost sympathy with these associates. He had an imperious mind and was fond of pomp and state. Puritanism, with its bald worship and its rigid strictness, was distasteful to him. Perhaps, too, Wentworth was inspired by ambition for high office. After the murder of Buckingham, he changed his tone, was received into favour by Charles, and became a peer and an intimate friend of Laud. Charles sent Wentworth to

take charge of the north of England, and there he soon had the Court of Star Chamber busy with the discipline of such of the northern gentry as opposed the king's policy. Wentworth's belief was that the Commons, in which he had sat, should have no control of the government. It was a many-headed body, often divided in opinion. He found the best security in the undivided authority of a strong king. On this point he and Laud were at one. When they wrote to each other, they spoke of their attitude as "Thorough," meaning, by this, thorough devotion to the king's interests. "Thorough" signified that, if necessary, the king should have and use an army to force his policy upon the nation.



SIR THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD (1593-1641)

Wentworth in Ireland, 1633-1639.—Ireland always needed a strong ruler, and in 1633 Charles sent Wentworth over as lord deputy. In the last days of Elizabeth, Mountjoy had really conquered Ireland, and James I was the first king to find himself master of the whole country. He thought that he could do what he liked in Ireland. He forced the chiefs of the Irish tribes in Ulster to abandon their Irish customs and to rule according to English law. When they revolted, he drove them from the country and confiscated the land of no less than six counties. This land he granted freely to English and Scottish colonists, who poured into Ulster, were soon its masters, and had under their feet the helpless Irish peasantry, whose natural leaders had been exiled. Now, as the servant of James's son, Charles, Wentworth, strong, resolute, and ruthless, was

ready to show what a determined ruler could do. He stayed in Ireland from 1633 to 1639, and in that time wrought seeming wonders. He checked Puritanism among the Protestant clergy. He aided commercial prosperity by encouraging Irish industry, especially the linen trade. He soon scattered the pirates who had infested the Irish Channel. In 1634 he called together the Irish Parliament. He had himself first decided who should sit in it, and, of course, it did his will. At a later time he caused it to vote one hundred and eighty thousand pounds, a great sum for that time, to help the king. He trained an army under strict discipline, and was ready himself to lead it in the field. He brushed from his path without pity any one who opposed him. "Thorough" seemed to be working very well in Ireland, and Wentworth intended that the obedience of Ireland and its Parliament should prove to Charles what complete authority he might also gain in England. Behind everything was to be the strong army to enforce the king's will, as need might arise.

The Dispute About "Ship-money."—Meanwhile, in England, the difficulties of Charles were growing. He must pay his soldiers and his fleet, and in his pressing need of money he fell back upon every right to taxes that the king had ever claimed. He levied Tunnage and Poundage, he renewed the granting of monopolies, he enforced an old law requiring land-owners with as much as forty pounds a year to become knights, and he secured many thousands of pounds by fining those who had failed to obey the law. Devious were the ways of the harassed king to replenish his purse, and he soon found that a Parliament could be of use in this, at least, that it made easy the securing of taxes. One of the most important levies which Charles now made was that of "ship-money." An old law required towns and counties on the sea-coast to furnish the king with ships and men in time of national danger. In 1634 Charles levied ship-money on the coast towns and secured considerable sums. A little later he decided to levy the tax on

inland counties, and in doing so stirred deeply the anger of the nation.

John Hampden.—Their indignation found expression in the bold resistance of one man. John Hampden was a gentleman of an inland county, Buckinghamshire. He was educated, wealthy, earnest, devout, by deep conviction a Puritan. He had gone to prison in 1627, rather than pay a forced loan which Charles had levied. He had sat in Parliament with Sir John Eliot. The two men, alike in spirit, became fast friends, and corresponded in the days when Eliot lay dying in the Tower rather than yield to the king's demands. When Charles levied ship-money on Buckinghamshire, Hampden declared that such a tax could be legally asked only from places on the coast. He was rich; his share of the tax was only a trifle; and it was a dangerous thing in the days of the Star Chamber to oppose the king. Yet in 1635 Hampden refused to pay the tax. The case was tried before twelve judges; it aroused wide interest; but in 1638 a majority of the judges gave a verdict against Hampden, who was thus forced to pay ship-money. His protest, however, was not in vain. It made him a national figure and raised the question of ship-money to the level of a great national issue.



JOHN HAMPDEN (1594-1643)

The Founding of Massachusetts.—Before things had gone so far, many Englishmen had found the policy of Charles in regard to religion intolerable and had begun to ask whether it would not be better to seek homes elsewhere. The little colony that went out in the *Mayflower* in the time of James had made the beginnings of New England. These colonists were mostly humble people from English

villages, but now men of education and position thought of following their example. They would go to live where they could have a religious system after their own mind. In 1630 many ship-loads, containing in all a company of about one thousand people, set out for America. There they founded the colony of Massachusetts. The colony was, of course, strictly Puritan in character, with an intense and bitter hatred for the Church of England, and the colonists were often narrow and intolerant. But their leaders were strong men of high character, and the colony was destined to grow into a powerful state.

Episcopacy in Scotland.—The long tension between Charles and his subjects could end only in open conflict. When decisive action came, it was from an unexpected quarter, Scotland. The Presbyterian system had now a great hold upon the masses of the Scottish people. In each congregation lay elders helped to govern the church, and in the annual General Assembly of the Scottish Church the laymen played a great part. The rights of the people in the church were all the more valued because, in the Scottish Parliament, which had but one chamber, the lay lords were dominant, and the people had slight influence. Thus it came about that the masses in Scotland clung to Presbyterianism as the guardian of both their political and their religious liberties. This was not a type of religion likely to please Charles I any more than it had pleased his father. The Scottish nobles, too, did not like the rule of the Presbyterian ministers, who boldly rebuked their vices. King and nobles together brought a check to the Presbyterians. In 1610 they were able to put the church under bishops, or overseers, three of whom were then consecrated in England. But such bishops were quite unlike the stately ruling prelates in England, for they had little power. They presided in the church synods, where, indeed, they sometimes checked the extreme claims of the ministers. These, however, remained in charge of the parishes. There they kept up the kind of worship, church government, and

moral supervision which Knox had learned at Geneva, and accustomed their people to services on a model wholly different from that of the Church of England.

Charles's Attempt to Force Bishops and a Liturgy on the Scots.—From the first the condition of religion in Scotland troubled Laud. He had tried to induce James to force the English form of worship on Scotland, but James's answer was that Laud did not know the stomach of that people. Now Charles was ready to attempt what his more prudent father had avoided. In 1636 the plan was complete, and Charles issued, on his own authority, canons putting the government of the Scottish Church entirely into the hands of the bishops. It was, moreover, provided that the Scottish ministers should wear the surplice, that they should use a prayer-book modelled on that of England, and that the people should confess their sins to ministers and bishops. The Church Assembly was not to meet unless summoned by the king, and then it might not touch questions of worship and discipline without the king's consent.

The Scottish National Covenant, 1638.—Truly Laud did not know the stomach of that people. To try to force such a system on the Scots was to put a match to tinder. Tumults broke out at once. In St. Giles's Church, Edinburgh, when the new form of prayer was first used in August, 1637, some of those present began to shout that the mass was once more restored. A woman named, tradition says, Jenny Geddes, threw a stool at the head of the bishop who was officiating. A riot followed. All Scotland was soon aflame, and most of the bishops fled from the country. By March, 1638, the Scots were freely signing a National Covenant to resist the king's policy. The General Assembly of the Church met at Glasgow in November without asking for Charles's permission. When ordered to dissolve, it refused to obey, and proceeded to depose the bishops and to declare that the new canons and prayer-book had no authority. Such defiance meant war. Charles accepted the challenge, and at Berwick in the summer of 1639 his

army stood face to face with the Scots in arms under Alexander Leslie. But the king had no money to pay an army, and, in order to gain time, he made terms. He signed what is called the Treaty of Berwick, agreeing that the Scottish Assembly and the Parliament should meet to determine the religious question. They met at Edinburgh and declared for the abolition of bishops. Charles, unchanged in his resolution to force Laud's system on Scotland, would not accept this decision. He adjourned the Parliament and prepared again for an appeal to arms.

Charles Calls a Parliament, 1640.—The hour had come. Charles now summoned Wentworth from Ireland, made him Earl of Strafford, and gave him a position similar to that which Buckingham had held. The king could do



JOHN PYM (1584-1643)

nothing without money, and, to get money, he must call a Parliament. This Strafford now urged him to do, and in April, 1640, the English Parliament met after a long interval of eleven years. During that time many disquieting things had happened, and now the beginning of a party to oppose the king was clear. Its leader was John Pym, a country gentleman of ancient family, who had taken a leading part against Buckingham a dozen years earlier. The high character of Pym commanded the respect even of his opponents. He deplored, as he said, "the interruption of that sweet communion which ought to be betwixt the king and his people," but he insisted on the ancient rights of Parliament as alone having authority to impose taxes, and he believed, also, that Charles and Laud were aiming at the destruction of Protestantism in England. The Commons were in no humour to help the king against fellow-Puritans in Scotland. When Charles told them that England was menaced

with invasion by the Scots, their answer was that his own policy was a worse menace than the Scots. By a large majority the Commons demanded redress of their grievances before they would vote money. When the House of Lords passed a resolution favouring a grant of money to the king without this redress, Pym declared that this action violated the right of the Commons to name the terms on which they would vote money. He insisted so firmly on the ending of ancient abuses that the obstinate king promptly dissolved Parliament without getting any help. Because of its brief life, this was called the Short Parliament. Charles, now in desperate need, begged a loan from Spain, promising, in return, to help Spain against Protestant Holland. The Queen, Henrietta Maria, whose earlier years with Charles had been unhappy, was now devoted to him. She was in religion a Roman Catholic, and her political faith favoured a despotism like that of her brother, Louis XIII, in France. She tried to help Charles when he sought money in France. Through her he even asked the Pope to lend him both money and men to subdue his rebellious Protestant subjects, and the Pope offered to do so if Charles would become a Roman Catholic. But nothing came of it all, and he had to go on unaided.

The Long Parliament, 1640.—The Scots invaded England in August, 1640, and soon defeated a part of Charles's army at Newburn on the Tyne. Charles was not ready for war, and he therefore agreed to leave the Scots in possession of the counties of Northumberland and Durham and to pay them eight hundred and fifty pounds a day for their



HENRIETTA MARIA, QUEEN OF
CHARLES I (1609-1669)

expenses, until a permanent treaty could be made. Without money Charles was helpless. He called a great council of peers to advise with him at York. They believed that the English nation would stand by the king, to avenge the outrage of invasion by the Scots, and urged him again to summon a Parliament. Charles resisted as long as he could. He accused Pym of treasonable intrigues with the Scots. No doubt there had been some communication, but the king had no evidence. The retort of the Puritan leaders was to carry on what was not unlike a modern political campaign. The day of the great public meeting was still far off, but Pym and Hampden rode together through the English shires and organized their friends. In the end, Charles risked an election, the last regular one which England was to know for twenty years, and in November, 1640, the momentous assembly, famous in history as the Long Parliament, came together at Westminster.

Pym's Attack on Strafford.—It was a company of angry men who faced Charles in the Commons. There were no recognized leaders, but Pym quickly stood to the fore. Hampden sat in the Commons; so, too, did Oliver Cromwell, of whom we shall soon hear much, and many others, gentlemen, land-holders, well-educated, and well-to-do. Pym, now fifty-six years old, with long experience in Parliament, was ready to strike and to strike hard. Death was to be the penalty for the losers in the stern conflict, and Pym had made up his mind to a terrible thing. Strafford must die. Pym knew that Strafford was ready to bring over the Irish army, should its aid be required to make the king's power absolute, and he was resolved to destroy Strafford if he could. There is a tradition that the two men had formerly been intimate friends. If so, Strafford's course had now hardened Pym's heart. Strafford, too, was getting ready to strike. He now came to London, knowing that his life was in danger, but with a guarantee of safety from the king. His aim was to destroy Pym for treason in plotting with the Scots.

Execution of Strafford, 1641.—Had Strafford been his own master, he might have struck quickly, but he served a weak ruler. Charles hesitated and delayed. Suddenly, in December, 1640, Strafford was impeached on a charge of high treason, arrested in the House of Lords, and committed to the Tower. The system which the king had tried to build up was now completely shattered. Laud followed Strafford to the Tower. The trial of Strafford by the House of Lords for treason began in March, 1641. He made an able defence, and his fellow-peers, who acted as judges, were impressed. The Commons now saw the urgent need of haste, for already was falling the dark shadow of civil war. Charles was planning to bring an army from the north to coerce the Parliament. There was even danger that Dutch and Irish troops might be brought up the Thames to attack the Tower. The trial of Strafford by the method of impeachment was accordingly stopped. What is known as a Bill of Attainder—an Act of Parliament condemning him to death, quickly passed the Commons. By this time the London mob, excited by the fear of an attack on the city to release Strafford, clamoured for his death. The Lords passed the Bill of Attainder. It could become law only if Charles assented to it. Would he do so? He had promised Strafford that no harm should come to him. But the mob was raging round the royal palace at Whitehall, and Charles feared that even his queen might be attacked and killed. In weak panic he consented that Strafford should die, and the next day, in the presence of a vast crowd, Strafford was beheaded on Tower Hill. Laud, too, had been imprisoned, and he lingered on, half-forgotten. But Prynne and other enemies were resolved to destroy Laud, also, and four years later, in 1645, an old man of seventy-two, he was beheaded. The third of the trio who had planned the system of "Thorough" remained; and after another interval of four years, Charles I himself was to perish on the block. The scaffold was the penalty of failure in this bitter strife. Terrible indeed was to be the

fight in which the Parliament had now engaged against the king and his counsellors.

5. THE FIRST CIVIL WAR

The Long Parliament.—On the day when Charles agreed to the death of Strafford, he had to assent to another measure. The Parliament, remembering how in earlier times he had checked its plans by dismissing it, now obliged him to agree that it should not be dissolved except with its own consent. By this act the Parliament was able to defy the king, who could no longer end its life, and as it sat for twenty years, it received the name of the “Long Parliament.” It soon abolished ship-money and declared Tunnage and Poundage illegal unless granted by Parliament. It quickly ended, too, the High Commission and the Star Chamber, which had been so severe with Puritan offenders, and it even paid some compensation to the chief victims of Laud’s cruel policy. To all these measures Charles had to give his assent. By August terms were arranged with the Scots. Parliament voted money to pay what was due to them, and they went home.

The Grand Remonstrance, 1641.—By these victories of the Parliament the political questions seemed to be settled. But the religious question remained. What religious system should be adopted in England? Pym was now convinced that bishops must be altogether abolished, and he was ready to make an alliance with the Scots and even to agree that the same Presbyterian system should prevail in both countries—a proposal certain to create division in England. Just at this time fearful news came from Ireland. In October, 1641, the Irish of Ulster broke out in rebellion, which led to a terrible massacre of the English and Scottish colonists in that district. Who was to crush this revolt? If the Parliament gave Charles an army to do it, he might turn this weapon against Parliament itself. Pym, now so conspicuous and so masterful that his enemies called him “King Pym,” declared that the Commons must

in some way control the actual carrying on of the government. They must, in fact, name the king's ministers. But upon this point Charles was unyielding, and his firmness angered Pym and his friends. They were resolved to take power out of the hands of the king, and in November, 1641, they drew up a Grand Remonstrance, a very long document with two hundred and six clauses. It was really a history of the king's misdoings, and it demanded two things: that the king's ministers should be responsible to Parliament, and that an assembly of divines should be nominated by Parliament to settle the religious question.

Impeachment of Pym and Others, 1642.—The Grand Remonstrance required Charles to surrender his right to administer the government—something that no king of England had yet done. No wonder that the Commons adopted it by a majority of only eleven. It was clear now that many in that House, and far more in the Lords, would be on the king's side, in opposition to the religious and political schemes of Pym. This knowledge encouraged Charles to make a bold stroke. In January, 1642, he impeached six leaders, five of them, including Pym and Hampden, members of the Commons. The king's charges meant that they must be tried before the House of Lords for treason, and without doubt he intended for them the fate which had overtaken Strafford. As no one seemed ready to arrest them, Charles resolved to do it himself. On January 4th, with an armed following, he strode into the House of Commons, intending to seize the five members. They had, however, been warned and were not present. The Londoners took up their cause against Charles, and a few days later a great crowd escorted them back to Westminster. The final breach had now come. The day before this happened, Charles had left Whitehall rather than see the triumph of his enemies. He returned to it only once, seven years later, and then it was for his own execution.

Cavaliers and Roundheads.—Civil war was now certain. Each side was measuring its forces, and each had strong

support. The rich south-east of England, with London and the other chief trading centres, stood, on the whole, by the Parliament. So, too, did those of the landed gentry, and they were not few, who held to the Puritan faith. The north and west, poorer and with a population more scattered, were with the king. Charles could appeal to those who treasured the old sentiment of loyalty and loved the Church of England; to those, also, who feared that a new despotism might now be created—that of the Parliament. With the king were, in fact, the greater part of the nobility and landed gentry of England. The royalists called themselves “Cavaliers,” and they nicknamed their opponents “Roundheads,” because some of them wore their hair short, in protest against the prevailing fashion of wearing the hair long, as women wear it still. It was apparently Puritans of humble position who wore short hair; most of the Puritan leaders, as their portraits show, followed the fashion of the time. The Puritans did not lack culture; Milton, the age’s paragon of classic learning, was on the Puritan side.

Civil War, 1642.—During the summer of 1642 each side appealed to the nation for support. The Parliament declared that it was opposing, not the king, but his evil counsellors, while Charles protested that he stood out against radical attacks on the ancient and undoubted rights of the monarchy. There was keen rivalry to get control of the best fighting material in the country. England had no standing army. Each year the militia was called out for a brief training, and then these so-called “trained bands” were sent home. The Parliament had demanded the right to name the officers of the trained bands—a proposal which called from Charles a fiery refusal. He would not, he said, trust his own wife and children with such a power for half an hour. In spite of this, many of the trained bands fought for the Parliament. Open war began when, in August, 1642, Charles raised his standard at Nottingham—a ceremony intended to inform the nation .

that the king was at war with his enemies, and to summon all loyal men to his side. Charles himself was no great general, but his nephew, Prince Rupert, son of the Elector-Palatine and Charles's sister, Elizabeth, was a leader who made a high reputation during the war. The Earl of Essex, son of the favourite whom Elizabeth had executed, commanded the forces of the Parliament, which was glad to have the services of a man of high rank. He was brave, but not brilliant. The royalists had the best fighting material. "Their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality," said Oliver Cromwell, while on the side of the Parliament they were mostly "old decayed serving-men and tapsters." The war, like all civil war, broke up friendships and divided families; brother sometimes fought against brother, father against son. Each side hoped for victory within a short time. In fact, the struggle lasted for more than six years.

Battle of Edgehill, 1642.—The first battle came in October, 1642. Many royalists had joined Charles since the raising of the royal standard at Nottingham, and he planned to push through from the north to London, the very heart of the enemy's country, and to end the war by one powerful effort. At Edgehill, lying some distance north-west of Oxford, Charles met Essex barring the way. Rupert carried everything before him in a fiery cavalry charge, but, when he returned from pursuing the foe, he found that the royalist infantry had been checked. Edgehill was not decisive, but, as Charles was able to occupy Oxford, the fruits of victory were with him. Yet he derived no benefit from this advantage. When he tried to press on to London, he was confronted by that force which many royalists professed to despise as a drunken, undisciplined horde. It was the trained bands of citizen soldiery, many of them working apprentices, who stood arrayed at Turnham Green to bar his advance on London. Charles's only hope of success lay in forcing his way through them at once. But so formidable did they now

seem that he hesitated, and in the end fell back on Oxford. Never again was there any real danger that he might take London.

Cromwell and Prince Rupert, Cavalry Leaders.—We cannot follow the war in detail. Many were the sieges, the stormings of strongholds, the skirmishes and battles in the open field. Most of the fighting was hand to hand, and the slaughter was terrible. Yet these Englishmen



PRINCE RUPERT (1619-1682)

showed restraint and compassion. Charles ordered that the tenderest care should be given to wounded rebels who fell into royalist hands, and the other side was equally merciful. No pity, however, was shown to the Irish fighting on the side of the royalists. Reports of the horrors of the Irish revolt in 1641 had sunk deeply into the minds of the Puritans, and now they treated all Irish as if they were dangerous wild beasts; even Irish women, found in the royalist camp at Naseby,

were slaughtered. The war developed at least two brilliant generals. If the royalists had a great cavalry leader in Rupert, the Parliament also found one in Oliver Cromwell. One difference between them was that Rupert fought without conviction, since he thought the policy of his cousin, the king, mistaken, while Cromwell believed intensely in the cause of the Parliament. He was a country gentleman, and, like his cousin Hampden, he had been elected to the House of Commons when not yet thirty. After a period of religious melancholy and doubt, he "saw the light," as he expressed it, and accepted zealously the religion of the

Puritans. The historian, Clarendon, Cromwell's enemy, calls him "a brave bad man," the kind for whom "hell fire is prepared." In truth, as posterity now believes, Cromwell feared God, and he feared nothing else. His temper was fiery and thorough-going. He had known



IRONSIDES AND ROYAL CAVALRY

nothing of a soldier's work until he was past forty. Edgehill was his first battle; but as the struggle went on, he showed the genius for war which made him the greatest captain of his age.

The Death of Hampden and of Pym, 1643.—The need of a leader such as Cromwell was all the greater because death now carried off some notable men. Hampden was killed in a petty skirmish at Chalgrove Field in 1643. Pym, too, died in that year and was laid with solemn state in Westminster Abbey. The cause which lost two such men in one year received a heavy blow. Hampden, in his quiet modesty, was content to follow Eliot and Pym, but, even more than they, has he become the type of the brave champion against injustice. With Pym a great leader was lost. Men loved him, as was said, for "his pleasant countenance

and sweet behaviour." Together with courage and industry, he had acute political insight, steadied by deep thought and wide reading. He and Hampden really created the first great English political party. Had they lived, they might have softened the military despotism of Cromwell.

The Westminster Assembly.—It was not easy for the Parliament to make headway against the king, and after Edgehill Charles more than held his own. He was resolved to stand by the Church of England, while, on the other hand, the leaders in the Parliament were resolved to overthrow the bishops. That a new church system might be outlined, the Parliament called an Assembly of Divines to meet at Westminster in July, 1643. At this time the Parliament was uneasy as to the king's aims, and it looked round for an ally. The Presbyterians in Scotland had good reason to fear that, if Charles saved Episcopacy in England he would force it upon Scotland. They now agreed to an alliance with the Parliament, and its terms were expressed in a Solemn League and Covenant sworn to by both nations in 1643. In this Covenant the English pledged themselves to reform their church "according to the example of the best reformed churches;" but when the Scots took this phrase to mean reform on the Presbyterian model, the English insisted on adding "and according to the word of God," which left the question still open. There were, in truth, profound difficulties in the way of making England Presbyterian. Those who upheld that system wished to put down every other form of church government. This did not please Cromwell, and he and others formed a party which came to be known as Independents. They intended to leave some freedom to individuals and congregations. Cromwell declared that a good officer should be promoted even if he did not happen to be a Presbyterian.

Battle of Marston Moor, 1644.—Charles had three armies, one in Cornwall, a second in Yorkshire, the third at Oxford. The royalists planned that when the army from Cornwall should advance to the Thames below Lon-

don, a second army should march from the north to the same point. As soon as these could cut off supplies from



ENGLAND DURING THE CIVIL WAR (1642-1648)

the capital, Charles would advance from Oxford to take London by assault. Though the plan was never carried out, for a time it seemed likely to succeed. The royalist army advanced from Cornwall, and in July, 1643, Rupert took by storm the Puritan stronghold of Bristol. Charles himself began the siege of Gloucester. Its fall might have ended the war. But it did not fall. Essex, though a timid general, marched to its relief with the sturdy fighting material of the trained bands of London, and Charles was obliged to raise the siege. At Newbury, near London, he tried to bar the return of Essex to the capital, but again the trained bands fought so well that he had to retire. By this time he held most of the south-west. But he never could take Plymouth, though it lay in the heart of a royalist country.

In the north the royalists had many reverses. They held York, but could not take Hull, which, like Plymouth, never yielded during the war. A royalist advance to the Thames proved impossible. In Norfolk, Suffolk, and other eastern counties, a powerful parliamentary force was organized, largely through the energy of Oliver Cromwell. Here, though the royalists won some victories, they could never break through to join forces with the royalists from the south-west in an attack on London. Roughly speaking, all of England east of a line drawn from Hull to the Isle of Wight remained with the Parliament. The alliance of the Parliament with the Scots enabled the allies to hem in the royalists between foes on the north and on the south. At last in July, 1644, a year after Rupert's brilliant success at Bristol, came a decisive battle in the north. Its scene was at Marston Moor, near York, which the royalists were making strong efforts to hold. The fight was desperate. Half of the army of the Parliament was in flight before the royalists, when Cromwell, in a furious charge, drove back Rupert and won the day. It was a crushing blow to the royalist side. "God made them as stubble to our swords," wrote Cromwell.

The New Model Army, 1645.—Yet all was not well on the side of the Parliament. The struggle was destined to be long, and Cromwell and others saw that abler generals and better organization were needed to win final victory. In 1644, not long after Marston Moor, Essex was out-generalled by the king in Cornwall, and the whole of his infantry was forced to surrender. London was saved only by a second fight at Newbury, which was not decisive, but which thwarted the king's plans. Many on the side of the Parliament were by this time profoundly discouraged. The Earl of Manchester, who commanded at Newbury, said quite openly that Charles could not be overcome: "If we beat the king ninety-nine times, he is king still . . . but if the king beat us once we shall all be hanged." Unity and efficiency were lacking in the parliamentary army. Often no pay was available for the soldiers, who, ragged and half-starved, deserted in great numbers. The first remedy for this state of affairs was to get the best leaders. Therefore the Parliament passed, in 1645, a Self-denying Ordinance, requiring the resignation of all officers who sat in Parliament. Then, only the competent need be re-appointed. Essex retired, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, a good leader of high character, became the general of the army of the Parliament, with Oliver Cromwell as lieutenant-general in command of the cavalry. What was called a New Model Army was soon formed, with officers chosen not only for their capacity, but also for their belief in the religious views for which the army fought. Many of the privates in the New Model Army shared these deep convictions. They were to have good pay, good equipment, and strict discipline. For more than a hundred years English armies had been notoriously weak in organization. The New Model was the first disciplined army which the country had had in many generations, perhaps the first in its history.

Battle of Naseby, 1645.—The climax of the struggle had been reached. After Marston Moor, Rupert had called Cromwell "Ironside," for his unbending strength, and the

name passed to his soldiers. No force could withstand their terrible charge. The decisive battle of the war came in 1645, at Naseby, not far from Leicester. Fairfax and Cromwell were at the head of the cavalry. The king was in command on his own side. Again, as at Edgehill, Rupert carried all before him in a dashing charge; again he turned back too late and found that Cromwell's cavalry had shattered the royalist force. Charles rode away a fugitive from a defeat, which, though he did not yet see it, was the fatal blow to his cause. Even Rupert told him that now the only thing to do was to make the best terms he could.

Defeat of Montrose, 1645.—Charles still hoped in Scotland, which had a much deeper affection than had England for the Stuart line. Were not the Stuarts the ancient Scottish royal house, the heirs to the glories of Bruce? The Scots were proud of the line which they had given to England, and at almost any time the masses of the Scottish people were ready to support Charles, if he would promise not to disturb their Presbyterian system. As it was, even though he would not do this, he had a party in Scotland. Its leader, the Marquis of Montrose, was a brilliant soldier. He raised a force in the Highlands, and during 1644 and 1645 won a series of victories. But the methods of the men who fought for him aroused horror and anger. Among them were some trained soldiers brought over from Ireland, but Montrose's force consisted chiefly of Highlanders. He himself was kind and merciful, but he could not control the wild men in his army, and they aroused bitter resentment by their excesses. They were chiefly of the clan of the Macdonalds and committed fearful atrocities against their old enemies, the Campbells, the clansmen of the Marquis of Argyle, the Presbyterian leader. Soon after Naseby, David Leslie, a trained Scottish soldier, who had helped to save the day at Naseby, marched against Montrose and utterly routed him at Philiphaugh. The victory made the cause of Charles as hopeless in Scotland as Naseby had made it in England.

Charles had lost his baggage at Naseby, and with it his reputation, for his private letters, which were taken, showed that he had intended to bring a foreign army into England if he could, and that, while he had been treating, now with the Scots, now with the English, he was as unyielding as ever. No matter what pledges he might feel himself forced to give, his fixed resolve was to be master of the state, to control the army, and to keep to the church policy of Laud. He was sure that he could trust the Scots to protect his person, and in 1646 he rode into the camp of the Scottish army which was allied with the Parliament. Even yet he hoped to arouse the Scots against the English. The Scots, however, finding him resolved not to yield on the question of religion, held him as a prisoner, and in 1647 handed him over to the English Parliament and to a captivity which, in spite of the supposed divinity of kings, was to end on the scaffold.

Presbyterians and Independents.—Meanwhile the Presbyterian cause was not prospering among the English. The Assembly of Divines, summoned to meet in London, did, indeed, draw up a Presbyterian creed—the “Westminster Confession,” to which the Church of Scotland still holds; and Parliament abolished the Church of England system and made Presbyterianism the state religion of England. The English Puritans as a whole never really accepted this settlement, and it was especially disliked by the chief officers in the army. It was clear, however, that many in the Parliament would side with the king, if he would promise to support Presbyterianism. The army leaders, seeing the danger of an alliance between Charles and this Presbyterian element, decided that it would make for safety to have the king in their own custody. So, by Cromwell’s orders, Cornet Joyce seized Charles at Holmby, and the army kept him its prisoner. It had now many grievances against the Parliament. The war was over, but the pay of the soldiers remained in arrears, and the Parliament showed a desire to disband the army at once, without

paying it. The leaders of the army, Independents who disliked Presbyterianism, at last brought charges against eleven Presbyterian members of the Commons, that they were preparing to support the king in a new war. The London mob attacked the House of Commons and forced the eleven members to fly to the continent. It was clear that the army would master the Parliament if the need arose, and it now proved anew its mastery over the king. In November, 1647, in the hope of getting away to France, he eluded his jailers and escaped to the Isle of Wight. But he found himself held there in Carisbrooke Castle, still the prisoner of the army.

6. THE SECOND CIVIL WAR

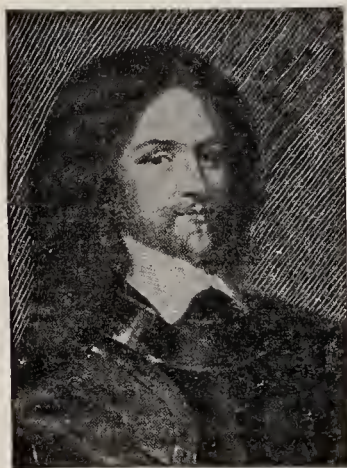
The Second Civil War, 1648.—By this time Charles had been able by his intrigues to create jealousies and rivalries which led to renewed civil war. When the year 1648 opened, the English royalists were again eagerly preparing to draw the sword. Their Puritan foes were now profoundly divided on the religious question. Hitherto the Scots, the English Presbyterians, and the Independents, had fought together against the king. But the Scots drew away from this league for, amazing to relate, Charles now promised them, not merely to uphold Presbyterianism in Scotland, but to establish it in England and to suppress all heresy. It is true that he agreed to do this for three years only, and that he had no thought of making the change permanent. He was really tricking the Scots, but so eager were they to see their faith triumphant that they prepared now to fight, not against, but for the king. The English Presbyterians, too, cooled in their opposition to Charles, who seemed to have yielded what they wished. At the same time Charles was seeking aid in foreign countries, where the efforts of his wife, Henrietta Maria, were backed by the influence of France. With rising anger the army saw the renewed menace of war, due to the schemes of the king, who was now calmly certain of success.

“As a Christian,” he had said after Naseby, “I must tell you that God will not suffer rebels to prosper,” and now, he thought, his day was coming. It happened that in April, 1648, Cromwell and other leaders of the army were assembled at Windsor for three days of prayer and searching of heart. On the third day, while they were still in session, came the news that South Wales was in arms for the king. Before those grave men separated to meet the danger, they vowed solemnly that, if victorious in the renewed war, they should call “Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for the blood that he had shed.”

Battle of Preston, 1648.—For a time the situation was critical. In the previous war the fleet had been firm for the Parliament; now part of it went over to the royalist side. But the English army was led skilfully, and the tide of victory turned in its favour. Fairfax, the commander-in-chief, soon crushed the royalists in Kent and Essex and took their stronghold, Colchester. Cromwell marched first into South Wales, and, when victorious there, turned northward to meet his former allies, the Scots, now, by this strange turn, in the field for Charles and Presbyterianism. In August, 1648, Cromwell fought, near Preston, a three days’ battle with the Scottish army, badly led by the Duke of Hamilton, but outnumbering his own by three to one. It was the first struggle in which Cromwell had held supreme command, and his victory was complete. Ten thousand prisoners, among them Hamilton himself, fell into the hands of the victors, who numbered not more than nine thousand.

“Pride’s Purge” of the Commons, 1648.—By the autumn the war was over, and in November, Ireton, Cromwell’s son-in-law, the man on the parliamentary side best fitted for the task by special studies, made a last overture to Charles finally to settle the government of England. The king was required to agree that Parliament should meet at least every second year and that it should control the state. Perhaps Charles then had his last chance of life. Yet,

though already clamours were raised for his head, he sternly rejected these proposals. Both sides had become embittered. The view of the victors was that they should punish as traitors those who had renewed the war. They



HENRY IRETON (1611-1651)

shot two of the chief officers taken at Colechester and executed the Duke of Hamilton and other leaders. It was improbable that the king, on whom the army laid the chief blame, should escape. On December 1st, 1648, with rude violence, soldiers took Charles from Carisbrooke to Hurst Castle, on the Hampshire coast, where he was held in strict confinement. The Parliament protested at once against such treatment of the king, and then the army turned on the Parliament.

Colonel Pride went to the door of the House of Commons and arrested, or refused entrance to, all who were thought likely to oppose the authority of the army. Two-thirds of the members were excluded, and the remnant, or "Rump," now left was ready to work with the army for the destruction of the king.

Trial of Charles I, 1649—Charles was taken to Windsor. Even as late as on December 25th, 1648, Oliver Cromwell wished to spare the king's life. But Charles would not even receive a messenger of the army with new proposals. Then, at last, Cromwell agreed that Charles must be brought to trial. The House of Lords, in which there were now rarely more than a dozen members, held aloof, but the "Rump," with its few score of members of the Commons, was ready to go to the bitter end. It created a High Court of Justice, to consist of one hundred and thirty-five persons, with the task of trying Charles, "tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy of the Commonwealth of

England," for levying war upon the Parliament and the kingdom. Sixty years earlier, Charles's grandmother, Mary Stuart, had been tried and executed, and many drew back before the prospect of a new tragedy which would shock the world. Half of those named would not act. Even Fairfax, commander-in-chief of the army, would have nothing to do with these steps against the king. Charles was brought to Westminster Hall, but he refused to plead or to acknowledge the special court. The proceedings went on for a week. Many of Charles's judges would have shrunk from carrying the case through to the end, but Cromwell and Ireton now held them to their task. "I tell you," Cromwell answered to some questionings of Algernon Sidney, "we will cut off his head with the crown upon it." The king was sentenced to death.

Execution of Charles I.—It was on a sharp and frosty morning, January 30th, 1649, that Charles with his guards walked rapidly from St. James's Palace across the park to Whitehall. For two or three hours he was kept waiting in a bedchamber of the palace, but about two in the afternoon came the final scene. When the king stepped through a window of the banqueting hall to the scaffold, he was in the presence of a great crowd. He spoke, but his voice could hardly reach beyond those with him on the scaffold. "I am the martyr of the people," he said, and in his heart he believed that the laws and liberties of England were safer in a king's hands than in those of the Parliament. The axe fell, and the executioner silently held up the bleeding head. A groan, "such a groan," said an eyewitness, "as I never heard before and desire that I may never hear again," burst from the crowd, and it was typical of the horror with which all Europe regarded the final act of the army.

CHAPTER XII

THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE

1. THE ENGLISH REPUBLIC

The Commonwealth and the Council of State.—The long, bitter struggle against the despotism of the king had met a terrible ending. A doubtful story is told that Cromwell went alone, late at night, to the chamber at Whitehall, where lay the body of Charles, lifted the lid of the coffin, gazed long upon the dead face, and murmured: "Cruel necessity." The king was dead; the Church of England had been overthrown; and, to complete the work of destruction, the "Rump" now abolished the House of Lords and finally declared England a republic. These changes were carried through by fewer than a hundred men who now sat in the House of Commons—the remnant of the Long Parliament elected nine years earlier. As they had been duly chosen by the people, they declared that they alone might speak for England. It is quite certain that at any time an appeal to the whole nation would have ended their rule and brought back a king. If we ask why the nation did not brush aside these few men and assert its will, the answer is that behind the few men was the army, the real master of Parliament and of the country. The despotism of the king had been replaced by the despotism of the soldier, ready to destroy even what remained of the Long Parliament when its day should come. This Parliament named, chiefly from its own members, a Council of State of forty-one members, by which England was to be governed.

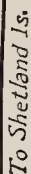
Cromwell in Ireland, 1649.—Grim war was still to be waged, and in war Oliver Cromwell was the man to lead. Fairfax was still commander-in-chief, but now he was only half-hearted, since he had disapproved of the execution of

the king. In Ireland and Scotland, Charles II, son of Charles I, was proclaimed king, and this meant that both countries would attack the English republic. The situation in Ireland was the more pressing, and the Parliament promptly named Oliver Cromwell lord-lieutenant and commander-in-chief in that country. Cromwell went to Ireland in the summer of 1649. He faced a baffling problem. Strafford's system of "Thorough" had meant order in Ireland by the exercise of iron force. After the fall of Strafford, the rising of the Roman Catholics in Ulster in 1641 had involved Ireland in a welter of blood. On each side there were brutal massacres which were a discredit to human nature. In the end the Roman Catholics held the greater part of the country.

Ireland had three groups, divided by religion—the Roman Catholics, the Episcopalians linked with the Anglicans in England, and the Puritans. But the Roman Catholics were themselves divided, between, on the one hand, the native Irish, who wished a Roman Catholic Ireland wholly separated from Protestant England, and, on the other hand, Roman Catholic land-owners of English origin, who wished to save the land from the extremists and hoped for help both in this and in their religion from the Stuart king. But since the Episcopalians, royalists all, were hostile to such a plan, the king was afraid to give pledges to the Roman Catholics. The Puritan Presbyterians, chiefly in Ulster, wished, for their part, to force their faith on Ireland, as on England, while to this the Puritan Independents were opposed and desired a wider measure of tolerance.

Those Roman Catholics and those Protestants who were still loyal to Charles I, distrusted each other and would not work together. Thus it happened that when, in 1647, the cause of Charles seemed ruined in England, his representative in Ireland, James Butler, Earl, and afterwards Duke, of Ormonde, a man of fine character, handed over Dublin to the forces of the Parliament and left the coun-

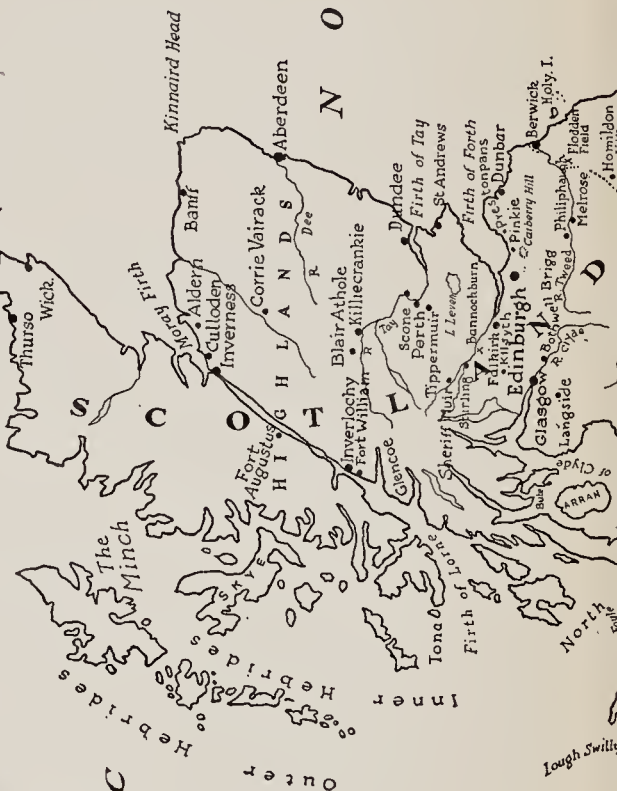
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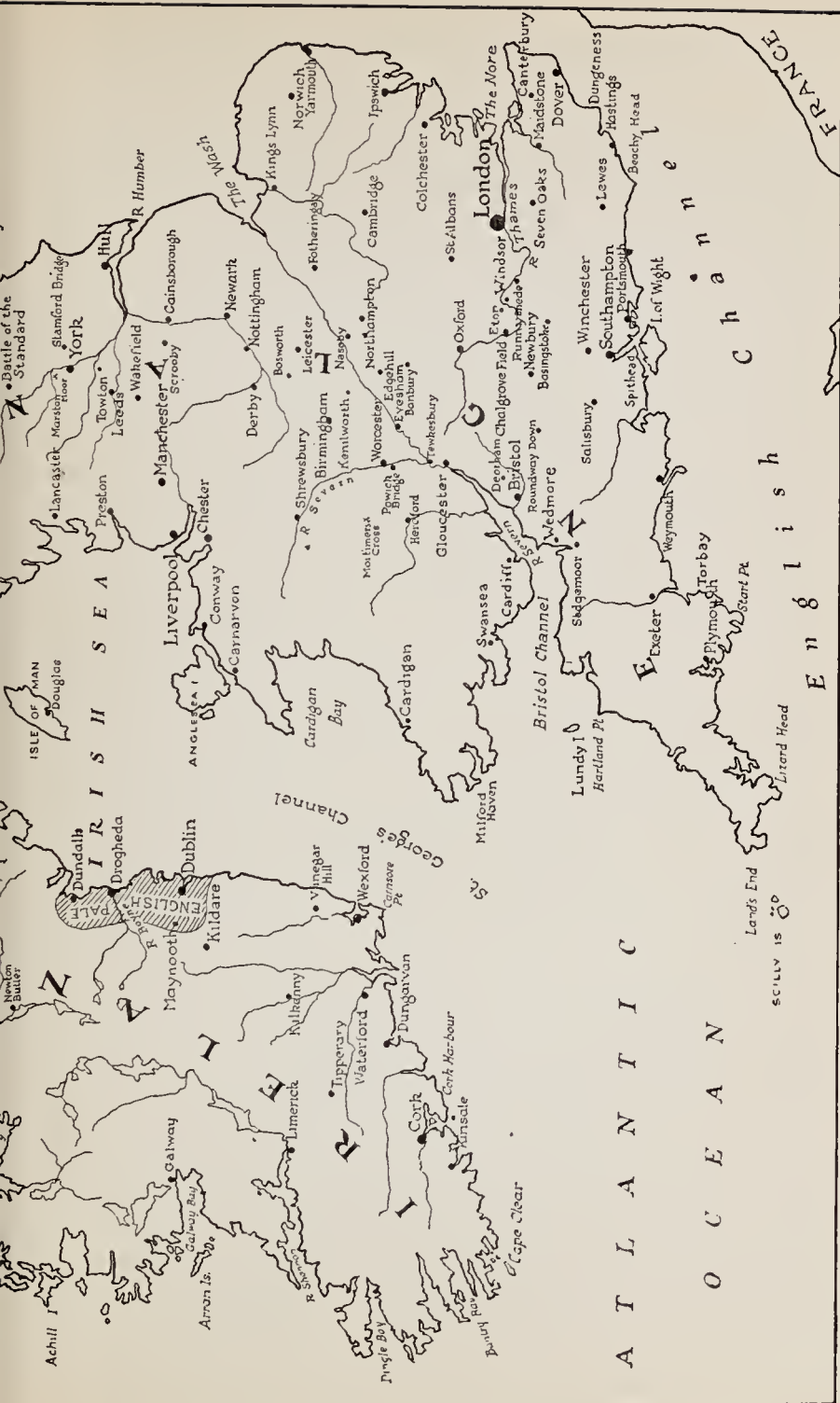


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try. But when the Second Civil War broke out in 1648, he returned to Ireland. He was able now to offer concessions to the Roman Catholic party, and it was not long before nearly the whole of Ireland, except Dublin, and Londonderry in the north, was in his hands. On the death of Charles I, Charles II was proclaimed king. Ormonde even laid siege to Dublin, and this was the situation which Cromwell had to face. The stern Puritan landed at Dublin in August, 1649, with some twelve thousand tried veterans of the Civil War. He proclaimed that he had come "to ask an account of the innocent blood that hath been shed," and the Irish were soon to learn what this meant.

The Sieges of Drogheda and Wexford, 1649.—Three weeks after landing, Cromwell was before Drogheda, in which were some of Ormonde's best regiments under Sir Arthur Aston. When the place refused to surrender, Cromwell took it by storm, after a severe struggle, and put to the sword about three thousand people. There were many Roman Catholics in Drogheda. In St. Peter's Church, where, as Cromwell notes, with fierce exultation at the sudden havoc, mass had been celebrated on the previous Sunday, one thousand people were killed by his troops. The church steeple, in which many had taken refuge, was set on fire, and the burning people died in the flames, cursing the cruel Puritan. No quarter was given to priests or friars wherever found. Cromwell thought that in this terrible work he was the agent of God. "I wish," he said, "that all honest hearts may give the glory of this to God alone, to whom, indeed, the praise of this mercy belongs." He marched on Wexford, gave its garrison an hour in which to yield, and when they refused, carried that place, also, by storm, and again put some two or three thousand people to the sword. This awful rigour was in accordance with the laws of war of the time, under which places taken by storm had no claim to mercy. A few years earlier, twenty thousand men and women had perished in Protestant Magdeburg, in Germany, when their

foes took it by assault. Cromwell's defence of his severity was that it would terrify the land into submission and save further bloodshed. Town after town opened its gates to him, and within a few months the greater part of Ireland was in his hands.

The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.—The Puritan victor was resolved that the Protestant hold on Ireland should never be relaxed. Cromwell's policy was to make extensive grants of land in Ireland to Englishmen, and especially to the officers who had followed him. England annexed Ireland, abolished its Parliament, and confiscated about three-fourths of its land. Catholic land-owners who had been in revolt were ordered to leave their homes and go into a region of Connaught, for the most part barren and desolate; after May 1st, 1654, those found east of the appointed boundary were to be punished by death. This stern measure did not greatly affect the ignorant tillers of the soil. Their work as labourers was still needed, and the new situation meant for them only a change of masters. The sufferers from the evictions were the educated and well-to-do, who, young and old alike, were compelled to make their toilsome way, usually on foot, into Connaught. Severe examples were made of those who refused to go. And there were other sufferers whose lot was even more terrible. When the war ended in 1652, many Irish officers and soldiers who had fought against the English were allowed to go to the continent, but their families remained behind. The Puritan mind knew no pity for the defeated Irish, and many of these helpless people were shipped to the West Indies and sold as slaves. It is no wonder that the days of Cromwell are still a bitter memory in Ireland.

Charles II Received as King in Scotland, 1650.—Cromwell himself remained in Ireland less than a year, for, early in 1650, there was pressing need of him in Scotland. The Scots had defied England by proclaiming Charles II king. Fairfax, the commander-in-chief of the English

army, himself a Presbyterian, would not war on the Presbyterian Scots. He declared that they had the right to name their own ruler, and laid down his command rather than attack them. The task of crushing royalist Scotland was, therefore, entrusted to Cromwell. The Scots were divided into two parties. Both were ready to support Charles II. But the great mass of the Scots, led by the Earl of Argyle, head of the great Campbell clan, were resolved that, before Charles ruled, he must take the Covenant and support the Presbyterian faith. On the other hand, there had always been a party in Scotland opposed to Presbyterianism, and their leader, the Marquis of Montrose, now fought to save the new king from the Presbyterians. Montrose had lived on the continent since his defeat at Philiphaugh in 1645, but early in 1650 he landed in the north of Scotland with a small force. Montrose was a poet, a military genius, and a hero, but his little army was soon cut to pieces. He himself was taken, and on May 21st, 1650, the stern Argyle caused the chivalrous leader against covenanting Scotland to be hanged at Edinburgh as an outlaw. More than anything else, the outrages committed by his Highlanders five years earlier were urged against him. Mary Stuart had died wearing a robe blood-red from head to foot. Montrose wore to execution a "red scarlet cassock" trimmed with gold lace, to the last a picturesque and gallant gentleman. Charles yielded to Argyle's demands, took the Covenant, declared that his father in refusing it had opposed the will of God, and that his mother was an idolatress because of her Roman Catholic faith. Time was to show the value of such an oath taken by a pleasure-loving youth, who meant no word of what he now so solemnly promised. Meanwhile, he sat through no less than six sermons on a single fast day and was solemnly rebuked if any one at his court played even a game of cards.

Cromwell's Victory at Dunbar, 1650; at Worcester, 1651.—Cromwell entered Scotland in July, 1650. He failed,

at first, to take Edinburgh, and was, indeed, out-generalled by the able Scottish leader, David Leslie, his own ally in the fight at Naseby. The English retreated to Dunbar, where Cromwell stood at bay with his back to the sea. Here, when Leslie attacked him on September 3rd, Cromwell, with an inferior force, overwhelmed the Scots and took ten thousand prisoners. Soon he occupied Edinburgh, and was busy rebuking the Presbyterians for warring on their triumphant spiritual brethren, the English Independents. Early in 1651 Cromwell lay at the point of death from fever, but by June he was again in the field, carrying the war into the Highlands. Leslie, hoping that the royalists in England would rise in behalf of Charles II, took the bold course of leaving Cromwell in the north and marching into England with Charles. The English royalists, however, did not rise to welcome Presbyterian invaders of their country. Cromwell marched southwards in pursuit of Leslie and overtook him at Worcester. On September 3rd, the anniversary of Dunbar, there was another terrible battle and another complete victory for Cromwell. Though Charles II managed, after many perils, to escape to France, not a regiment or company of the Scottish army reached the border. Thousands perished; half the nobility of Scotland were taken prisoners; and Scotland itself was soon a conquered country. The victors abolished the Scottish Parliament, annexed the country to England, and, in time, allowed it and Ireland each to send thirty members to the Parliament at London. In the proud days when they aided the English Parliament in the Civil War, the Scots had forced their faith on the larger kingdom; now for years they were to remain a conquered people, held down by an alien army. Yet they gained something. They had free access to the markets of their neighbours, and their trade flourished. Presbyterianism, too, gained, for under the Commonwealth it was free as it had not been free under the repressive policy of the Stuart kings.

The Navigation Act, 1651.—The English republic found no welcome in Europe. Its envoys to continental courts were sometimes murdered, and for such crimes it could get no redress. Prince Rupert turned sailor and fitted out privateers to prey on English commerce; and continental nations, thinking England weak, allowed their seaports to be used for this unfriendly purpose. England, however, showed herself strong on the sea as on the land. The Dutch, free at last from claims upon them by Spain, had a great fleet. Their ships were in every port; they did the carrying trade of Europe. This position the English were now bold enough to attack. In 1651 the Parliament passed the Navigation Act, which forbade the ships of other countries to trade to the English colonies or to carry to England the products of any country but their own. The Dutch might not, for instance, carry French goods, or any goods but those of Holland, to England.

Blake and the Naval War with Holland, 1652-1654.—The Act meant war, sooner or later, with Holland, and England now had a great seaman to fight the naval battles which were sure to follow. The career of Robert Blake runs parallel with that of Cromwell. They were born and they died within a few months of each other; each was buried in Westminster Abbey, and of each the body was disinterred and removed by unworthy pettiness after the return of the Stuarts. Blake went to Oxford, Cromwell to Cambridge. At the outbreak of the Civil War they both turned soldier. It must have been a surprise to Blake when, a landsman fifty years old, he was in 1649 given the command of a fleet. That age did not see why a general on land should not also be a general on the sea. Certainly Blake justified the choice and became a sailor so famous that he ranks with Drake and Nelson. He and another general, the royalist Prince Rupert, were pitted against each other on the sea, and in 1651 Blake sailed into the Portuguese harbour of Malaga, destroyed the royalist fleet, and showed that republican England was formidable on the sea.

Blake then turned on the Dutch. It would have been fitting that England and Holland, two Protestant republics fighting for their lives in the face of a hostile Europe, should help, rather than oppose, each other. But trade rivalries are bitter, and war broke out in 1652. Blake and Tromp, the Dutch admiral, had many contests. At first Tromp beat Blake off Dungeness. The command of the Channel passed, for a time, to the Dutch, and the story was told that Tromp carried a broom at his masthead, to show his resolve to sweep the English from the seas. But in 1653, in a sanguinary battle, from which Blake was absent through ill-health, Tromp was defeated and killed by the English under Monck, and they regained command of the Channel. During the war the English captured more than a thousand Dutch vessels. This ruinous struggle was, however, soon brought to an end. England modified slightly the Navigation Act so that the Dutch might bring to England the products of northern Europe, and peace was made in 1654.

2. OLIVER CROMWELL, PROTECTOR

The Decline of the Long Parliament.—Meanwhile, the English Parliament was not doing well. Though at first efficient, it soon became selfish, tyrannical, and even corrupt. It raised money in devious ways; it sold the property of the king, including his magnificent collection of pictures, and that of the bishops, deans, and cathedral chapters; it threatened the destruction of the cathedrals themselves, and even began the work at Lichfield. To meet the expenses of war, it sold the estates of many royalists, confiscating by a single act the property of six hundred and eighteen persons, many of them innocent of any real offence against the state. There was evidence pointing to corruption. Persons able to pay members to shield them were spared, while men in Parliament, formerly poor, were growing rich. It was a sad decline from the high resolve of the days of Pym and Hampden.

Expulsion of the Long Parliament, 1653.—The crowning offence of the Parliament came when, partly on the plea that an election would bring back the Stuarts, it introduced a bill to make its own existence permanent. In future there was to be no general election; vacancies were merely to be filled as they occurred, and even elected members might be refused the right to sit, if the House should so decide. The bill would hand England over to the lasting rule of the few who sat in Parliament, and the nation could never turn them out. On April 19th, 1653, Cromwell held a conference with the parliamentary leaders. They agreed to delay the objectionable bill. But to Cromwell's amazement, on the very next morning news came to him at Whitehall that some members were hurrying the bill through, with the intention, as soon as it was law, of adjourning until November. Angry at the broken promise, he hastened down to the House with a guard of soldiers, whom he stationed at the entrance. He took his seat as a member and soon rose to speak. As he went on, his anger mastered him. In violent language he charged the assembly with abuse of its powers, and individual members with profligacy, drunkenness, and corruption. When his wrath was at a white heat, he turned to a fellow-officer and ordered him to bring in the soldiers. They marched in and quickly obliged the members to retire, Cromwell giving stern orders when there was any show of resistance. The mace, the symbol of the Parliament's authority, lay on the table. "What shall we do with this bauble?" said Cromwell. "Here, take it away." A bauble was the fantastic baton carried by the court fool as a mock symbol of office. By no other term could Cromwell have shown more completely his contempt for what the Long Parliament had become. Its expulsion left the mastery of the three kingdoms in the hands of the army, with himself as its leader.

The Nominated Parliament, 1653.—Cromwell now tried the experiment of forming a Parliament out of the best men whom the army could find. The Independent churches

sent in the names of suitable persons; Cromwell's council of officers chose one hundred and forty; and these were summoned, in Cromwell's name as "captain-general," to act as a Parliament. They met on July 4th, 1653. Cromwell looked upon this assembly with enthusiastic good-will, for he was supremely anxious to end rule by the army alone. The newly nominated Parliament was soon busily engaged. It was nicknamed by some the Little Parliament, because of its small numbers, and by others Barebone's Parliament, after Barbon, one of the most active members. Some of the members worked zealously on plans to end imprisonment for debt, to simplify the law, to abolish the abuses of the Court of Chancery, to make the judges independent, and to give congregations the right to choose their own ministers. But some talked, too, of reducing the army and of abolishing the church tithe, the chief means of support of the ministers of religion—proposals which Cromwell disliked, and which aroused great opposition. The defects in the new system were many. Englishmen had been accustomed to two things—a single person at the head of the state, and elections from time to time. This Nominated Parliament provided for neither of these things. One hundred and forty men carried on the government, and they were chosen, not by the nation, but by the officers of the army. Some members had wild schemes for setting up an ideal government of the saints on earth. Men of property began to take alarm, and they looked to Cromwell for protection. He and the wiser of the members acted together. One day, before their opponents were warned, these members put through a resolution by which the nominated Parliament dissolved itself and handed over its authority to Cromwell.

Cromwell Protector, Under the "Instrument of Government," 1653-1657.—The army leaders had prepared a new constitution, which they called the "Instrument of Government." It provided for a head of the state. He was to be called protector, and the first protector was to be

Oliver Cromwell. It provided, also, for a Parliament of one chamber, with four hundred and sixty members, Ireland and Scotland each to have thirty, England four hundred. These were to be elected freely, except that no one who had been on the king's side in the Civil War might vote for members or sit in the House—a step necessary to block the return of the Stuarts. The constituencies were arranged anew. No longer did mere villages—"rotten boroughs"—send members; these were now to be distributed according to population. A Puritan national church was to be supported by the tithe, and there was to be full religious liberty for the varying types of Puritan faith. On December 16th, 1653, four days after the nominated Parliament was dissolved, Cromwell was installed as protector. At last he was something more than the successful soldier; he was the head of the state as well as of the army. Men noticed that now he wore plain civilian's dress, for he knew that military rule was hateful to England. He was far from being absolute. He could not veto measures of his Parliament, nor could he dismiss the Council of State of from thirteen to twenty-one members, which it named to advise him. The "Instrument of Government" really divided authority between the protector and the Parliament, and gave England something that resembled the old system with its king and Parliament. But since Cromwell carried on the government, he remained in control of the national resources.

The Character of Cromwell.—Out of the tumult of the times had at last emerged a strong ruler. "A larger soul, I think, hath seldom dwelt in house of clay than his was," said a member of Cromwell's own household. Nothing but force of character had brought him to the front, for he had few outward graces. A fellow-member of Parliament thus described him in 1640: "I came into the House one morning well clad and perceived a gentleman speaking whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled; for it was a plain cloth suit which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain and not very clean; his stature

was of good size; . . . his countenance swollen and reddish; his voice sharp and untunable." Like all men of genius, he was in advance of his age; he loved toleration, when the best minds of his time thought it sin not to try to crush all error. Resolute conviction lay behind everything that he did. "There is nothing to be feared," he said, "but our own sin and sloth." He went into battle with a Psalm on his lips: "Let God arise and let his enemies be scattered." When once he had sought God's leading and made up his mind, nothing could bend his will. Yet he was far removed from the grim and stern Puritan our fancy paints. He drank beer and light wine, used tobacco, and was passionately fond of music. When his daughter Frances was married, the dancing was kept up in Whitehall until five o'clock in the morning. His family affections were keen; he was gentle and tender toward his aged mother and toward his wife and children. He enjoyed hunting and hawking and liked good horses. With but little taste for books, he yet kept the greatest man of letters of the time, John Milton, in an official post in his government. He loved a jest and would break off from serious work at Whitehall to make verses with Thurloe, his secretary. His humour was grim enough. "What a crowd came out to your lordship's triumph!" was said to him in Bristol when he returned from victory in Ireland. "Yes," said Oliver, who always looked facts squarely in the face, "but if it were to see me hanged how many more there would be." In his work as ruler he was sometimes very arbitrary. Living in an age of revolution, in which the



OLIVER CROMWELL (1599-1658)

appeal to force was easy, Cromwell relied too much upon the strong arm as the best instrument of government. When he became protector, he was told that it was against the will of the nation. "There will be nine in ten against you." "Very well," said he, "but what if I disarm the nine, and put a sword in the tenth man's hand? Would not that do the business?" Pym could have told him that it would not.

The Opposition to Cromwell.—Cromwell was protector for nearly nine months before he met his first Parliament. In that time he did much. He ended the war with Holland by a treaty made in April, 1654. He set about making his religious system effective. A Board of Triers was named, which inquired as to the character of all persons to be appointed to parishes. Commissioners were sent through the country to make sure that the ministers already in the parishes were fit and devout men. The former Anglican clergy had, of course, been turned out. The new ministers might be ignorant, but Cromwell was resolved that they should at least be godly. In military, civil, and religious matters alike, the strong guiding hand was soon apparent. Enormous obstacles lay in the way of settled government. The Puritan party was profoundly divided. Some fanatics, led by Major-General Harrison, wanted nothing that resembled the old system of king and parliament, and clamoured for a fifth monarchy to succeed the four ancient monarchies. In this fifth monarchy Jesus Christ was to be king, and Harrison and other saints were to carry on the government. "The Levellers," led by John Lilburne, wanted a complete democracy with no distinctions of rank. Sir Harry Vane led a party of republicans, who now turned against Cromwell because he seemed too much like a monarch; they did not favour government by a "single person."

The Rule of the Major-Generals.—Strife matured when Cromwell's first Parliament met in September, 1654. "Blessed be God," he said in his opening speech, "we see here this day a free Parliament," and he called it the most

hopeful day which his eyes ever saw. But acute strife soon appeared. Since the “Instrument of Government” had been drawn up by private persons, the Parliament declared that it had the right to prepare a new constitution. This claim Cromwell would not admit. He knew not what wild ideas might be proposed, what chances for a Stuart restoration might be given. He, accordingly, declared that the “fundamentals” already laid down, must not be touched, and he excluded from the House those who would not accept this principle. None the less did the members who remained go on preparing a new constitution. When, therefore, the House had sat for its allotted five months, Cromwell dismissed it, and thus checked its plans. The danger from the royalists, which Cromwell feared, was real. In March, 1655, there was an armed rising. Cromwell soon suppressed it. But now, to keep the royalists well in hand, he divided England into ten districts, under as many major-generals, who preserved order with Spartan severity. They kept a close watch on what was printed, punished profane language and disregard of the Puritan Sabbath, and stopped cock-fighting and horse-racing. They forced the royalists to pay a special tax to support the military force which held them in check. Every one could see that this hated rule of the major-generals was the undisguised rule of force.

“The Humble Petition and Advice,” 1657.—In September, 1656, the protector met his second Parliament under the “Instrument of Government.” He called it because England was at war with Spain, and he needed money. His major-generals had promised that the elections should be favourable to his government, yet everywhere protests were heard against military rule. When the Parliament assembled, Cromwell excluded no fewer than one hundred members who would not pledge themselves to abide by the fundamentals. But even the docile remainder condemned the rule of the soldier, and it was clear that men’s minds were turning more and more to the old form of government by king and parliament. Judges now declared that this old

system was necessary, if valid laws were to be made. At last a new and decisive step was taken, when, in March, 1657, the Parliament presented to Cromwell a "Humble Petition and Advice," asking him to rule England under a constitution which provided for a sovereign and a parliament with two chambers. It was to be the old monarchy reformed; a Cromwell instead of a Stuart was to be king. The new second chamber was not to be a revival of the old House of Lords but an improved body, for the best men were to be named to it. There was to be a House of Commons, as of old. The Church of Rome and the Church of England were still to be denied liberty of worship.

Cromwell's Regal Power with the Title of Protector.—At once from the officers of the army came a storm of protest against setting up a king. After a terrible struggle they had rid England of one king; should they now name another? Cromwell himself cared little for the title of king. It was only, he said, "a feather in a hat;" but he was too much of an Englishman not to long, as the nation longed, for some government which should make the foundations of order secure and end military despotism. After long deliberation Cromwell refused the title of king. On other points he accepted the new constitution, with himself as head of the state, not as king but as protector. As protector he was to have regal powers and to nominate both his own successor and the seventy members of the new Upper House.

Cromwell Dismisses his Parliament, 1658.—In June, 1657, Cromwell was once more installed as protector, this time with pomp like that at an ancient coronation. He was king in all but name. In 1653 it was the army which had made him protector; now it was the Parliament, and he fondly hoped that the nation would approve of this new system, and that it would endure. His hopes were vain. In January, 1658, the new Parliament met, and within a month it was quarrelling with Cromwell. In the Lower House the republicans gained control. Though Cromwell

called the new second chamber the House of Lords, the republican Commons would call it only "the other House;" a real House of Lords, they said, would be a menace to the liberties of the nation. There was even a plot to depose Cromwell from the leadership of the army. At last, on February 4th, 1658, he summoned both chambers before him, rebuked them for disloyalty to the "Humble Petition and Advice," told them that they were playing the game of the royalists, and after a fiery speech, ended with this: "I do dissolve this Parliament, and let God be judge between you and me." He expected in due course to summon a new parliament, but in the same year he died.

3. THE POLICY OF CROMWELL

Cromwell's Foreign Policy.—Such were some of the difficulties amid which Oliver Cromwell carried on the government of England. Yet she never had five years more glorious than those of his protectorate. He had splendid audacity and planned a new control of the world. England and Holland, the leading Protestant states, were to unite; Holland should take Asia as her sphere of influence, and England, America; their trade would prosper, and they could make Protestantism supreme on two continents. Holland, however, did not relish proposals which meant the dominance over her of England, the stronger partner, and in the end the plan of union was abandoned. Then Cromwell was ready to show that England, unaided, could exercise world-wide influence. France and Spain were at war. He told Spain that he would join her if she would help England to recover Calais, lost in the days of Mary, stop the persecution of English Protestants in Spanish dominions, and permit the English to trade freely with the Spanish West Indies. As Spain scornfully rejected these proposals, Cromwell, in time of peace, sent a fleet to seize Cuba and other Spanish islands. The expedition was not well managed, but the fleet did seize Jamaica, which thus became a permanent English possession in 1655.

The Naval Victories of Blake.—Pirates from Tunis, in North Africa, had committed outrages on English ships, while France and other states had allowed their seaports to be used against England by Rupert and others. These were wrongs to which Cromwell would not submit. When, by 1654, he had built a powerful fleet, he sent Blake into the Mediterranean, that he might make the English flag respected in regions where as yet it had rarely been seen. It was not long before Blake sailed into the stronghold of the Tunis pirates and burned the ships which lay there—a lesson which ended piratical attacks on the English. France was soon convinced that England would be a useful ally, and united with Cromwell against Spain. In 1657 Blake entered the harbour of Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe, and, without the loss of an English ship, destroyed the Spanish treasure fleet of sixteen sail. Worn out by his labours, Blake died on the way home. In courage, honesty, and patriotism not even Nelson surpasses him.

Cromwell Aids the Waldenses.—Even from his ally, France, Cromwell demanded substantial returns. In 1658 she ceded to England the harbour of Dunkirk. This gave the English a stronghold on the continent, such as Calais had been of old, and such as Gibraltar is now. Cromwell exacted another thing from France. He induced her to give freedom of religion to Englishmen within her borders and to aid in getting toleration elsewhere for persecuted Protestants. In Alpine valleys bordering on France, the Duke of Savoy was carrying on fearful persecutions of his subjects, the Waldenses, who were in revolt against the Roman Catholic Church. Cromwell not only subscribed two thousand pounds out of his own purse to relieve these suffering people, but he also induced Cardinal Mazarin, who was all-powerful in France, to bring pressure on the Duke of Savoy to stop the persecutions. Cromwell was ready to help, in any part of the world, a cause for which he cared. If war should come in consequence, he did not shrink from all its risks.

Cromwell's Domestic Policy.—At home Cromwell steadily pursued the work, long needed, of improving the laws of England. He tried to reform thoroughly the criminal law, but did not rule long enough to accomplish this purpose. He succeeded, however, in checking one form of violence, by treating the killing of a man in a duel as murder. His government showed great zeal for education. As chancellor of the University of Oxford, he took especial care of its interests. He planned a university for the north, and founded a college at Durham, which was dispersed at the Restoration, but refounded in the nineteenth century. Cromwell, like Henry VIII, laid hold of church lands, but he did not repeat the gross misuse of Henry; the revenues went to schools and colleges and to other projects of government. Oppressive taxation was the chief fault of Cromwell's rule. He found war a costly game, and there was as yet no national bank to ease the present burden by loans payable in the future. In Cromwell's last year the deficit was mounting at the rate of four hundred thousand pounds annually, half the total revenue of Charles I, and Cromwell was at his wit's end for money. The royalists found his exactions intolerable.

The Extent of Religious Toleration Under Cromwell.—In spite of its Puritan rigour, Cromwell's government was the most tolerant of religious differences which England had known. "Popery and Prelacy" were, it is true, suppressed. A Roman priest was put to death in 1654. The law was severe against the use of the Anglican ritual. Cromwell himself stopped a service in the cathedral at Ely with the stern summons to the clergyman: "Leave off your fooling and come down, sir." His soldiers sometimes broke into churches, destroyed crosses and crucifixes and even beautiful stained glass, and tore to pieces prayer-books and surplices. None the less was Cromwell's church liberal in spirit. It required no uniformity of doctrine or service. Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, varying greatly in articles of faith, became rectors and vicars of English

parishes, and Cromwell saw that they had good incomes. His government tolerated the use of the Anglican ritual in London. The new Society of Friends, or "Quakers," as they were contemptuously called, because they sometimes quivered with religious emotion, were cruelly persecuted at this time in various parts of England; but Cromwell himself showed kindness to their leader, George Fox. Since the days of Edward I, the Jews had been kept out of England, but Cromwell allowed some of them to come back, though even he could not secure for them the legal toleration which he desired. He saved many Roman Catholics from persecution. He was, in a word, the steadfast friend of free opinion. Yet, when opinion was allied with action against his authority, his adversaries found him relentless.

The Death of Cromwell, 1658.—At fifty-nine Cromwell was an old man. He had reached middle age before he began the arduous labours of war, and they wore him out quickly. Early in August, 1658, his favourite daughter died, and his grief was profound. Soon mortal illness seized him, and he lay dying in the palace at Whitehall. On the night of August 31st, he was overheard in prayer, and his prayer was for the English people. "Give them," prayed Cromwell, "consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love, and go on to deliver them . . . Teach those who look too much upon Thy instruments to depend more upon Thyself." Nor did he forget to pray for his enemies. "Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people, too. And pardon the folly of this short prayer, even for Jesus Christ's sake, and give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure." He died on September 3rd, the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester.

We think of Cromwell as an autocrat. He had, indeed, become supreme in England by the aid of the army. Yet he desired to govern with the consent of the nation. By nature and conviction he was neither despot nor democrat, for his mind ever turned to the old method of rule by Sovereign, Lords, and Commons, though not with a Stuart

on the throne. He tried to keep the army out of politics and to give Parliament its old place of authority, but five stormy years were too few for his task. The real majority was always against him. Royalists, republicans, and Presbyterians, even the army in large degree, were at heart hostile to the unbending sway of the protector.

4. THE STUART RESTORATION

Richard Cromwell.—Oliver had named his son, Richard, as his successor, and Richard became protector and was at first well received. It was said that not even a dog ventured to utter a bark against him. But Richard, rather idle in his habits, and with the sporting tastes of a country gentleman, was ill-suited to his part. Only a soldier or a king could rule in England, and he was neither. The army needed a real leader. England was at war with Spain, and the pay of the soldiers was so much in arrears that there was talk even of seizing Oliver's body, as a hostage to the creditors of the state. Richard summoned a Parliament, from which royalists were still excluded; and when it met in January, 1659, it showed a desire that the new protector should rely less upon his army, and more upon his Parliament, than Oliver had done. When Richard seemed to favour this policy, the army turned against him and obliged him, in April, 1659, to dissolve the Parliament which was trying to control the government.

The Army Expels the "Rump" of the Long Parliament.—By this step the army again became supreme. Yet, as the army leaders well knew, the heart of the nation was against military rule. The republicans now raised a mighty clamour for the "good old time" of the republic, and since the Long Parliament, duly chosen by the English people, had been the mouthpiece of the republic until Oliver had dismissed it, a cry went forth for the Long Parliament. The army chiefs at last called it together, and in May, 1659, forty-two members of the "Rump" of the Long Parliament, expelled six years earlier by Oliver, came together at

Westminster. The summoning of the Long Parliament meant the end of Richard's rule. On this both Parliament and army were agreed, and he promptly abdicated. Soon the Rump and the army again quarrelled, for the Rump claimed to control everything, including the appointment of officers. In October, 1659, the army expelled the Rump, as Cromwell had done.

General Monck.—A new portent now rose in Scotland. General George Monck commanded the army which kept order in conquered Scotland, and had become practically



GEORGE MONCK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE
(1608-1670)

protector of that country, as Oliver was of England. Monck had been a hesitating royalist, but when the cause of Charles I definitely failed, he took service with the Parliament, first in Ireland and then in Scotland. His dominating quality was shrewd selfishness. He could wait, silent and reserved, until certain which was to be the winning side. Like Blake, he had been a soldier and then

a sailor. It was he who in 1653 won the great naval victory against Holland in which Tromp was killed. Cromwell saw through Monck's selfishness, and wrote to him in 1657 an appeal, less than half humorous, to arrest "a certain cunning fellow in Scotland called George Monck, who is said to lye in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart." This was what Monck was destined to do. His position in the north, remote from English faction, with a well-disciplined army and a supply of money which he had prudently saved, was commanding. To him the expelled Rump appealed, and he promptly declared that, soldier though he was, he should support civil, as against military;

government. The army leaders sent General Lambert to the north to fight Monck if necessary, and renewed civil war seemed imminent. But as Monck advanced, many joined him. They included Fairfax, the old parliamentary commander and victor at Naseby, whose unstained record gave him great influence. There could be no doubt that public opinion was with Monck and against the army. Lambert's forces melted away, and on February 3rd, 1660, Monck marched into London.

A Newly Elected Parliament Effects the Restoration, 1660.—There was still danger that civil war might break out, and this Monck was determined to prevent. It was easy now to read the wishes of the nation. Though as yet hardly any one dared to speak openly for a king, a king the great mass of Englishmen desired. Monck's first important step was to restore the Rump, which the army had so recently dismissed. It rewarded him with the post which Cromwell had held, that of captain-general. A little later he called the surviving members of the Long Parliament, whom "Pride's Purge" had expelled, to join the Rump, but first he pledged the Parliament to agree to a new election, in which the people, royalists included, should be free to express their wishes. Accordingly, in March, 1660, the Long Parliament, after an existence of twenty eventful and stormy years, voted to end its own life; and England was called upon to choose a Parliament to settle the constitution of the state. There was an amazing outburst in favour of a king, and within a month the new Parliament had voted to bring back Charles II.

The Declaration of Breda, 1660.—Before this final step was taken, it was necessary to secure a statement from Charles as to what he would do when he should have power in his hands. In consequence, before he set out for England, he issued from Breda, in Holland, where he was living, the Declaration of Breda, in which he promised four chief things: the army would be paid all its arrears in full; claims in regard to the lands of royalists which had been

seized, claims which the Cavaliers were pressing, should be settled by Parliament; freedom of religious opinion should be allowed to all whose views did not disturb the peace of the nation; an Act of Amnesty should be passed, under which no one should suffer in life, liberty, or property for recent political events, unless Parliament specially exempted him from the benefits of the Act. The Declaration involved a definite retreat from the position of Charles I; for it promised a more liberal church policy than his. Moreover, it gave, not the king, but Parliament, the right to settle questions of property and to name those deserving punishment for acts of rebellion against the late king. Eliot and Hampden and Pym had not worked in vain.

CHAPTER XIII

THE RESTORATION

1. THE SUPPRESSION OF PURITANISM

Charles II, 1660-1685.—Charles II landed at Dover amid transports of joy. Half-frantic, cheering multitudes lined the last twenty-five miles of the road to London. Seldom has enthusiasm been more real. Cromwell's army, now controlled by Monck and drawn up fifty thousand strong on Blackheath, raised no note of dissent. Charles II was restored at the age of thirty. He was tall and swarthy,



CHARLES II

with a sensuous face, an active and vigorous body, and a powerful, though indolent, mind. Time was to show that, while affable and witty, he was also selfish and cruel. The wandering life of a king deprived of his crown had proved injurious to his character; he revealed to his subjects a slackness in morals which shocked all sober English people. In business matters he was very shrewd; he took a keen interest in plans to promote English

commerce; the traders, an important class, found him their friend. So also did the men of science. Charles had seen much of the world and had learned to be wary and prudent. Whatever happened, he said, he should not go again on his travels, and he meant by this that, unlike his less able but more conscientious father, he was ready to yield a principle in order to keep a throne. At heart he was as much of a

despot as his father, but on reaching London, he readily gave renewed assent to Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, and other measures which limited the king's power.

Severity Against the Puritans.—With Charles once seated on the throne, a bitter spirit of revenge soon became manifest. Parliament refused amnesty to all who had had a share in the death of Charles I and named half a dozen other persons to whom no mercy should be shown. The restored monarchy was guilty of petty vindictiveness. The dead body of Cromwell was taken from its resting-place in Westminster Abbey and hanged on a gallows at Tyburn with every mark of indignity; the remains of Pym and Blake were cast into a pit. Thirteen of the "regicides," men who had voted for the king's death, were executed as traitors. Charles himself witnessed some of the executions and seemed to find pleasure in watching the horrors of hanging, drawing, and quartering, which went with a traitor's death. Sir-Henry Vane was a man of blameless life and of great influence. He had had no share in the death of Charles I, but he did not hesitate to say that he thought England should be a republic. Charles II was afraid that Vane might lead some movement against him, and through this fear, rather than on account of anything Vane had done, let him go to execution in 1662. The promise of amnesty was, it is clear, not interpreted in any mild sense.

The Cavalier Parliament, 1661-1678.—The so-named Convention Parliament, which restored Charles II, had not been regularly summoned by royal mandate, and it gave place, early in 1661, to a regular Parliament called by the king. The outgoing assembly, consisting largely of Presbyterians, had shown a moderate spirit. In the new House all this was changed. Nine-tenths of the members were ardent Cavaliers, relentlessly bent on punishing their former oppressors and on making impossible the recovery of power by the Puritans. Even the Presbyterians, though they had aided in the recall of Charles II, now had little weight in

the Parliament, and as it was not dissolved for eighteen years, they were impotent during the reign. Cromwell's soldiers went back to civil life, where they won respect by their honest industry and did credit to the memory of their great leader. Yet the Cavaliers still feared these trained soldiers, many thousand strong and in the prime of life. Such fears, however, were groundless. For the time no revival of the cause of Pym and Hampden was really possible, and the link between Puritanism and Parliament was at last broken. Parliament was now filled with a frantic hate of Puritanism, and in its zeal to destroy that system, paid no heed to promises of toleration which had been implied in the Declaration of Breda.

The Ruin of the Puritan System.—It thus came about that the Restoration brought with it severe repression of all phases of Puritan thought. The Church of England resumed at once its old privileges and supremacy, for legally all measures affecting it, as all other laws, were null and void if they had never secured the formal assent of the king. After years of poverty, persecution, and often of exile, the deprived bishops returned to their sees, and vicars and rectors returned to their parishes. A good many clergy of Presbyterian views were willing to remain in the Church of England if some toleration of their opinions was allowed. Most of the Presbyterian laymen were satisfied that they had secured the one great object of the struggle—the rights of Parliament, and now conformed to the Church of England, with the intention of working from within for religious toleration. Of the country gentlemen not already pronounced Cavaliers, a large number seem to have followed this course. No longer did they war on bishops, as men of their class, such as Hampden and Cromwell, had done; and Puritanism lost with them the social standing which had helped to make it powerful in the time of Charles I. More and more it was to find its chief support in the humbler ranks of society. In time the low church element reasserted Puritan ideals within the state church.

The "Clarendon Code."—Charles II had created Monck Duke of Albemarle and would have made him, also, his chief minister. Monck, however, was a soldier, not a statesman, and the man who now really ruled England was Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. He had been one of the members of the Long Parliament who sided with the king; he had served Charles II in his exile; and now that indolent king laid on his shoulders the chief work of government. Clarendon's mind was narrow; he had most of the



EDWARD HYDE, EARL OF
CLARENDON (1609-1674)

prejudices of the Cavalier class; he was devoted to the Church of England and resolved to restore it to its old position. But he wished to appear moderate, and was especially desirous of conciliating the Presbyterians, who had done so much to restore Charles II. He could not, however, control the hot zeal of the Cavalier Parliament. Had not the Puritans sent an anointed king and an archbishop to the scaffold? Had they not punished any one daring to take part in the services of the Church of England, confiscated its property, driven out its clergy, and brought cruel distress and want to hundreds of Cavalier homes? Would they not do these things again if they should get the power? The only thing to do, said the Cavaliers, was to crush such enemies. A series of vindictive laws was passed, known as the "Clarendon Code," though never quite approved by Clarendon.

The Corporation Act, 1661.—The first repressive law was the Corporation Act, passed in 1661. Its aim was to ruin Puritan influence in the English towns, and it provided that no one should hold any municipal office who would not renounce the Covenant, take the sacrament in the Church of England, and declare it to be unlawful, on any plea, to bear arms against the king. As the town corporations

sometimes chose members of Parliament, this law was intended to keep any town from choosing a Puritan as its representative.

The Act of Uniformity, 1661.—A good many clergy of Presbyterian views had conformed to the Church of England, and the Cavalier party would give them no peace. Charles himself wished to prevent extreme action in regard to religion. He summoned a conference, which was held at the Savoy Palace in 1661, to arrange, if possible, some of the differences in religion. But the opposing parties could agree on nothing, and it was left to Parliament to decide whether concessions should be made to the Puritans. It decided quickly and severely enough, by passing once more, in 1661, an Act of Uniformity, framed to carry out the old policy of the Tudors and of Laud to enforce on all Englishmen conformity to the national church.

The Expulsion of Puritan Clergy, 1662.—The Act required all those holding office in the church to declare their complete approval of everything in the Book of Common Prayer. This struck hard the clergy of Presbyterian views, who were willing to remain in the Church of England, if left free to try to change from within some of the things which they disliked. They were now told that they must go out if they desired any changes, and were given until St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24th, 1662, to make up their minds. Deep was the searching of heart of many of the clergy, who had the choice of declaring entire approval of the Anglican system, or of giving up their sphere of work, their homes, and their incomes, to go into poverty and to face much suffering. It shows the sincerity of their convictions that a great many, it is said two thousand, went out.

The Conventicle Act, 1664; the Five Mile Act, 1665.—In 1664 was passed the Conventicle Act. The law could not forbid private family worship, but it now provided that if more than five persons, exclusive of the members of a family, were present at a religious meeting or "con-

venticle," each person present was liable to a fine of five pounds or three months' imprisonment; for the second offence the penalty was doubled; for the third it was fifteen pounds or transportation for seven years, and to return to England without leave was punishable with death. The expelled ministers were thus unable to conduct any kind of public worship. In order, also, to keep them from exercising personal influence, Parliament passed, in 1665, the Five Mile Act, by which a minister or teacher who did not subscribe to the Act of Uniformity, or who refused to take an oath not to resist the existing authority, was forbidden, under a penalty of forty pounds for each offence, to come within five miles of his former scene of labour or of any important town or city. No one might teach a school, or even receive lodgers, who was not ready to say on oath that it was unlawful in any circumstances to take up arms against the king.

The Harrying of the Nonconformists.—Such was the Clarendon Code. It seems to have been thought that nonconformity could be destroyed by a few years of rigour. The church authorities paid as much as fifteen pounds for proof of the holding of nonconformist meetings and had in their service an army of spies. By these the prisons were kept full. It was at this time that John Bunyan spent many years in Bedford Jail. But Puritanism was not destroyed. In reality religious convictions were deepened by the persecutions. Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist ministers eluded the law, by going from house to house and teaching and comforting their people in private. The "Quakers" simply defied the law. They met and often sat in silence. If ejected, they came back, as soon as they could do so, and sat on with open doors. If their meeting-house was destroyed, they met in the open air. Hundreds were sent to jail; but the others went on fearlessly, and in the end did much to teach the government that toleration, if not a duty, was a necessity, since force could not alter religious convictions.

Parliament Claims to Control Public Expenditure.—

Little as it pleased Charles, the Restoration left the king in a position different from that which Charles I had struggled to keep. The ideal of Charles I was that the king should exercise all executive power, appoint to offices, and control the public expenditure, while to the Parliament should be left only the power to levy taxes, and, subject to the king's veto, to make laws. But now, from the first, it was clear that Parliament, in spite of its clamorous loyalty, intended to carry out a policy sometimes sharply opposed to that of the king. Parliament was ready, indeed, to leave much power in the king's hands; it was content that he should name his own ministers; at first it was even willing to let him spend as he liked the money which it voted. But it was resolved to control the religious policy of England and to fight the concessions to Roman Catholics desired by Charles, himself a Roman Catholic at heart. When, too, it found that Charles spent on other things money granted to keep up the fleet, it grew restive, and before many years were over began to exercise a watchful supervision over the spending of public funds. Elizabeth had treated such revenues as her own property, but had spent them with strict economy. Charles was boundlessly extravagant. It is alleged that he gave one corrupt woman at his court one hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds in a single year.

War With Holland, 1664-1667.—England and Holland had fought on the sea under Cromwell, and the struggle was renewed under Charles II, who had a real desire to see England the great commercial state of the time. Without waiting for a declaration of war, the English in 1664 seized the Dutch colony in America called New Netherlands. In honour of Charles's brother, James, Duke of York, the colony was renamed New York. Open war with Holland was declared in 1665.

The Great Plague, 1665, and the Fire of London, 1666.
—In the midst of this war two disasters overtook England.

In 1665 a terrible plague swept over London. The pestilence was caused, perhaps, by a prolonged drought, which left the drainage foul; but some strict people said that the deeper cause was God's anger with a profligate king and with a court where vice was open and shameless. In a single month more than twenty-six thousand people died in London. Every one who could do so fled from the stricken city. Houses and shops were closed. Grass grew in the deserted streets. The dead were buried at night in great pits, and the plague was not stayed until the cold weather came. In the next year, 1666, London was devastated by a fire, which went on unchecked for days, until two-thirds of the city lay in ruins. Perhaps the fire did good, for it swept away many poor streets and made possible rebuilding on a better scale. In the following summer came a third shock to London, and it was fitting punishment for Charles's course in spending on evil pleasures the money voted for keeping up the fleet. When the Dutch found the Thames almost undefended, they sailed up the river and cut off supplies from the capital, where, for the first time, was heard the roar of foreign guns, so near as to cause a panic. Charles saw that it was time to make peace, and in 1667 was signed the Treaty of Breda. In spite of disasters, England gained something by the war; for New York was left in her hands. Little did either side imagine the amazing future which lay before that neglected colony.

The Dismissal of Clarendon, 1667.—The Parliament was now anxious to punish some one for the disgrace that had come to England through the misuse of public money, and its anger turned against Clarendon. The blame for other misdoings of the king fell on the minister. Cromwell had actually obliged France to cede the seaport of Dunkirk to England, and this gave her always a foothold in France, a state of affairs which Louis XIV did not like. So, in 1662, the French king persuaded Charles to sell Dunkirk back to him for two hundred thousand pounds. The king pocketed the money, but a London mob howled against

Clarendon and declared that he had been bribed by France. Now they said it was his fault, too, that the Dutch war had gone so badly. Charles II was weary of the austere minister who rebuked his vices, and the end was that, in 1667, the Commons impeached Clarendon for treason. In danger, as he thought, of his life, he fled to the continent. He spent his remaining years in writing his great history of the Civil War, but he never returned to England.

The Persecution of Presbyterians in Scotland.—The Restoration had broken up the union of England with Scotland and Ireland, and these states resumed their former positions, each with a separate Parliament. To Scotland, free trade with England had been profitable. Now this came to an end. In respect to religion, also, there were some disturbing changes. While most of the Scottish people clung to Presbyterianism, a few who were influential had grown bitter against the narrow bigotry of the ministers. The king, remembering his former deep humiliation in Scotland, agreed with them, and in 1661 this party brought to trial the Presbyterian leader Argyle, for his support of those who had executed Charles I. Argyle had sent the gallant Montrose to the scaffold, and now he himself met a like fate, with two or three other leaders. Again were bishops put in authority in the Scottish church and a new and bloody chapter of strife began. Ministers who would not accept the bishops had to give up their churches, and the laws against them were very like those against the nonconformists in England. The Scots met this repression by resistance to the death. They revived the signing of the Covenant. The ministers, driven from the towns and villages, held their meetings on moors and hillsides, in glens and secret places. Sometimes the persecuted Covenanters struck back. Archbishop Sharp of St. Andrews was the chief of the Episcopal party, and in 1679 he was brutally murdered on Magus Muir, near St. Andrews. The royal officers met this crime with merciless severity; imprisonment, torture, execution, overtook many

of the Covenanters. To Scotland the Restoration brought assuredly no peace.

The Restoration in Ireland.—In Ireland the Restoration involved the triumph of English influence. Those who had secured lands in the time of Cromwell were far-sighted enough to welcome the return of Charles II. Their homage to the king and their strength in the Irish Parliament, which now resumed its authority, made it hard to act against them. Charles II was bound by every tie of gratitude to do something for the Roman Catholics in Ireland, many of whom had fought on the royalist side. But, despising Ireland and the Irish as he did, he was not prepared to take much trouble about Irish questions. In the end the Irish Parliament passed, in 1661, an Act of Settlement, which restored to Roman Catholics their lands, if they had been in no way connected with rebellion against Charles or his father. Yet the English land-owners, Puritan followers of Cromwell, who assuredly had been rebels against Charles I, were to be spared, since they were to receive compensation for the lands which they might give up.

The Coercion of Ireland.—As the event showed, many Roman Catholics found it impossible to prove that they had had no share in the rebellion. When they failed to do so, they could not recover their estates. Thus it happened that about two-thirds of the fertile land of Ireland remained in the hands of a small number of Protestants, to whom the native Irish became hewers of wood and drawers of water. English influence was supreme. The Church of Ireland, modelled on the Church of England, was the only one permitted to hold public worship. Its numbers were less than one-tenth of the people, and yet this church levied tithes for its support on the whole population and persecuted alike Roman Catholics and Presbyterians. In every way Ireland was under the heel of England. The English farmer did not like competition, and in 1665 the importation of cattle and horses from

Ireland into England was forbidden. Soon meat, butter, and meal were also excluded. Later, when the Irish took to growing wool, they were forbidden to export either the raw wool or manufactured woollen goods. Ireland was not allowed any share in the growing trade with the English colonies. She certainly had a multitude of grievances against her powerful neighbour.

2. PURITAN AND CAVALIER WRITERS

Milton.—The literature of the period of the Civil War and the Restoration reflects the struggle in religion. The most famous name is that of John Milton (1608-1674). He was heartily on the side of the Parliament, and became secretary of the Council of State which ruled England after Charles I had met with his tragic fate. Milton plunged deeply into controversy in support of the new republic. His *Areopagitica*, a defence, in an intolerant age, of the freedom of the press, is noble in spirit. His prose is, however, often obscure, and also often vulgarly abusive. It is his poetry which is sublime. At twenty-one he wrote his fine *Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, and all through life his mind was occupied with the deepest problems of the relations of God to man. Milton's greatness as a poet lies in the sublimity of his thought, the delicacy of his insight, the music, freedom, and variety of his words and metre. In one respect he is inferior to Shakespeare. He lacks humour. Yet in his *l'Allegro* he pictures the charms of a merry society, while *Il Penseroso* describes the quiet joys of the scholar. These, together with *Comus*, a short drama of the type known as a masque, produced with music, and *Lycidas*, an elegy on a friend who was drowned, all poems of the highest order, were written when Milton was still a young man. His longest work appeared after the Restoration. By that time he was blind, poor, and regarded with no friendly eye by the Cavalier party. Perhaps he learned his deepest lessons through misfortune. *Paradise Lost* was published in 1667, when the reaction

against the Puritans was at its height, and they were learning anew the bitter discipline of persecution. The poem describes the war on God by rebel angels in Hell, and the tempting by Satan of newly-created man, until he loses his place in Paradise. The lofty theme is treated with a sustained majesty of thought which no other English writer has ever equalled. *Paradise Regained* is a less successful attempt to tell the story of man's redemption. Milton's last great poem, *Samson Agonistes*, is a kind of allegory, forshadowing the final triumph of the Puritan cause.

Bunyan.—With such lofty themes was the Puritan mind occupied. Milton's writings appealed to the educated few. There was, however, a Puritan writer, a man of the people, who wrote on the deep problems of man's destiny in a style so simple that the unlettered could understand. John Bunyan (1628-1688), the son of a tinsmith, served as a private soldier during the Civil War. We see how religious questions had touched the inmost heart of the English people when we find that Bunyan was most deeply stirred by overhearing the conversation on religion of some poor women at Bedford. This was while Cromwell ruled England. Bunyan soon began to preach, and he contrived to do so freely enough until Charles II came back. Then he was promptly arrested for preaching without a license. The Clarendon Code, or any other repressive measure, had few terrors for Bunyan, and he preached in prison or out of prison with little regard to the prohibitions of the law. The result was that he spent about twelve years in jail. He wrote, largely, it is thought, while in jail, his great book, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, which appeared in 1678. It tells the story of Christian, a pilgrim, on his journey from the City of Destruction to the City of God. The style is simple, and most of the words are monosyllables. Never, however, was book more effective, for Bunyan describes man's struggle against sin with a reality and a passion which appeal to all classes. Except the Bible, *The Pilgrim's Progress* has been the most widely read book in the English language.

Cavalier Writers.—Of course, there were writers who expressed the Cavalier view of life. We find in the days of Charles I, a group of poets, such as Richard Lovelace (1618-1658) and Robert Herrick (1591-1674), who dealt chiefly with such topics as the sighs of love, the colour in a maiden's cheek, flowery meadows, and running brooks, in a light vein vividly in contrast with the gravity of Milton. Puritan gravity, indeed, lent itself to ridicule because of its lack of humour, and Charles II had been but a short time on the throne when Samuel Butler (1612-1680) published anonymously his *Hudibras*, a satire, often coarse and indecent, on Puritan manners, which pleased greatly the king and his ribald courtiers.

John Dryden.—The most famous anti-Puritan writer is John Dryden (1631-1700). He lived on into a later period, but already, at the Restoration, his pen was at the service of the king. It is not easy now to estimate the degree of his sincerity. He had written in honour of Cromwell. Under Charles II he wrote his *Religio Laici*, against dissenters and Roman Catholics. Yet he became later a Roman Catholic, when a king of that faith had ascended the throne. While England was under Puritan rule the theatres had been closed, and it is no wonder that, when they were reopened under Charles II, the plays should depict court, and not Puritan, morals. Dryden was one of the court circle which flattered the king, railed against the prudery of the Puritans, and wrote the indelicate things which a vicious king delighted to hear. In 1670 Charles made Dryden poet-laureate. When, a little later, Charles was carrying on a hot fight with the Whigs, Dryden satirized Shaftesbury and others of the king's enemies in *Absalom and Achitophel*. Instead of inspiration in Dryden we have careful writing. Shakespeare's characters speak in a variety of ways, sometimes in rhyme, more usually in flexible blank verse. Dryden's heroes declaim in stilted rhyme and often with grotesque effect. He argues about religion in rhyme. He is careful to make his meaning lucid,

though condensed, and he laid the foundation for the rational, concise, and measured verse which remained the fashion until the death of Pope in the next century. He developed, too, a flexible style in English prose. In striking contrast with the stately and ornate periods of the Elizabethan writers are Dryden's short and clear sentences of from twenty-five to thirty words. Yet, in spite of this perfection of form, both his poetry and his prose now seem commonplace. The circle of readers was much wider than ever before. We find in the time of Charles II the first great booksellers. Jacob Tonson, Dryden's publisher, was able to pay large sums to authors.

Other Writers.—This broader interest in letters shows that war and tumult were only half the story of England during her period of civil conflict. In the stormy year 1653, in which Cromwell overthrew the Long Parliament, Isaak Walton (1593-1683) published *The Compleat Angler*, a book which shows the delight of the author in a quiet country life. Just after the execution of Charles I, Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667) wrote *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*, books full of a spirit of calm devotion far removed from the outward strife of the time. In *The Liberty of Propheying* he pleaded the cause of tolerance. The quarrel about religion and government was leading to the examination of the basis on which society rests. It was in 1651, the year in which Cromwell defeated the Scots at Worcester, that Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) published his *Leviathan*, a work of profound philosophy, written to prove that the ultimate power in a state rests with the people and that, not by divine right, but by popular consent, was authority placed in the hands of a single ruler. John Locke (1632-1704) was another of the thoughtful writers of the time, who was showing a better way than that of persecution. We learn again that new corrective forces are at work in what seems the darkest time, when we find John Locke producing in 1667, the hour of triumph of the Clarendon Code, *An Essay Concerning Toleration*, expanded in his

later *Letters on Toleration*, which discouraged religious persecution. The influence of such views was felt only slowly, but they were destined to soften religious strife before the end of the century.

3. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EXCLUSION BILL

The Treaty of Dover, 1670.—The first half of the reign of Charles was marked chiefly by the war on the Puritans; in the second we find a violent outburst against the Roman Catholics. In 1669 James, Duke of York, Charles's brother and the heir to the throne, declared himself a Roman Catholic, and to a few intimate friends Charles now confessed that he held the same faith. A public avowal would, he knew, cause great anger in England, and before taking this step he wished to secure outside support. He found it in Louis XIV of France, the greatest ruler in Europe. At Charles's side was no longer the incorruptible Clarendon. The king himself governed without consulting any definite body of ministers. He frequently used as his agents one or other of five men, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale, who were nicknamed the Cabal because their initials spelled that word. They were not in any sense official advisers. One of them, Clifford, was a zealous Roman Catholic, and it was he who chiefly aided in settling the terms of a secret treaty with Louis. By this Treaty of Dover, made in 1670, Charles agreed to act with Louis XIV against Holland; in return Louis was to pay him a large income, and when the time should come, was to furnish a French army to aid him in forcing the Roman Catholic religion upon England. The English people knew nothing of this secret treaty, nor of the real reason why, in 1672, England joined France in an attack upon Holland. French armies invaded that country. But they could not conquer it. When everything else failed, the Dutch leader, William of Orange, afterwards William III of England, opened the dikes and flooded his territory to keep back the armies of Louis XIV.

Already William was marked out as the enemy of French ambition.

The Test Act, 1673.—Meanwhile, the English began to suspect the designs of Charles. It gave them food for thought when he undertook to remove disabilities imposed by law on those who did not conform to the Church of England. In order to give relief to Roman Catholics, Charles now claimed that he had power to exempt his subjects from the penalties of breaking the law. Accordingly, in 1672 he issued a Declaration of Indulgence, which gave to nonconformists liberty of worship. Such tolerance we now regard as essentially just. It freed Puritan as well as Roman Catholic. But in the act of Charles the English saw two faults: he had no right to suspend the operation of the law, and he wished toleration, not to relieve the Puritan, but as a step toward making England Roman Catholic. The Protestant nonconformists, reading the king's aims, opposed a step which yet brought them relief from persecution. A temper was quickly aroused before which Charles quailed, and he soon withdrew the Declaration. But he had aroused acute alarm. Fear of the Roman Catholics now took possession of both people and Parliament. The first step toward safety was to drive Roman Catholics from office. In 1673, therefore, Parliament passed the Test Act, obliging every office-holder to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England and to make a declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation. No Roman Catholic could make this declaration, and the Duke of York gave up all his offices.

Shaftesbury and the So-called "Popish Plot," 1678.—The man who now came forward as the leader against the policy of Charles was Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury. As Baron Ashley he had been one of the Cabal, and until 1673 he had supported the king's policy. But when he learned of the secret Treaty of Dover, he took alarm and gave such strong support to the Test Act that he was promptly dismissed from the post of lord

chancellor by the angry king. Shaftesbury was unscrupulous, but compared with other leaders of the time, he seemed highly moral. Two principles dominated his conduct. Though by no means devout, he favoured religious toleration for all Protestants, and he upheld strongly the rights of Parliament. He feared the designs of the Roman Catholics and was ready to believe tales which led to a terrible outburst of fanaticism. Titus Oates, a disreputable man, who had somehow become a clergyman in the Church of England, told on oath, in September, 1678, that he had discovered a plot of the Jesuits. They had, he swore, made up a sum of twenty-six thousand pounds to reward persons who should murder the king and other prominent leaders in England. This done, they intended, by the aid of a French army, to make the Roman Catholic James king. A few days later, Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, the magistrate before whom Oates had made his statement, was murdered, possibly by Oates himself, to create a further sensation.

Moderate and liberal-minded men were carried away by the fury of suspicion. It was whispered and eagerly believed that the Roman Catholics—a small minority in England—were about to burn London and to murder all good Protestants. Parliament credited the story of the plot, and to protect itself, passed in 1678 an Act prohibiting Roman Catholics from sitting in either House. This prohibition endured for one hundred and fifty years. Roman Catholics seem, however, to have voted at elections in England, though any voter might, at the demand of a candidate, be required to take oath that the Pope had no spiritual jurisdiction in England. Some leading Roman Catholics were thrown into prison on charges made by Oates and others, and the panic fear lasted for about two years. At its base was the dread of foreign invasion—always a bugbear to the English—and the suspicion that an invading French army would be aided by the English Roman Catholics.

The Habeas Corpus Act, 1679.—The stir about a Roman Catholic plot brought to an end the Cavalier Parliament which had laid such heavy burdens on the Puritans. Anxious to punish some one for the league with France, the Commons impeached, in 1678, the king's chief adviser, the Earl of Danby. They knew, however, that the king himself was at the bottom of the secret treaty. Charles found that, if the Commons pressed the charge, he would also be implicated, and to avoid this he dissolved the Parliament in 1679, and thus ended the life of an assembly which had sat for eighteen years, a period nearly equal to that of the Long Parliament itself. An election quickly followed, and to the annoyance of Charles the new Parliament proved even more resolute than the old one to pursue Danby and to check Roman Catholic influence. In carrying out this policy they adopted an important measure of self-protection. Earlier rulers, Elizabeth and Charles I, for instance, had thrown into prison political leaders who opposed them, and had kept them there during their pleasure. There was now danger that Charles might do this. To make it impossible, Parliament enacted, in 1679, the Habeas Corpus Act. It provided that any person arrested for an alleged crime, who should complain of his arrest, must be brought before a judge within twenty days of such complaint, and should be discharged on giving proper security to appear in due course for trial. Persons accused of treason or felony were not to be entitled to bail. The Act laid heavy penalties upon any judge who should disregard its terms. Since that time no English ruler has ventured to keep a subject in prison without lawful trial.

"Whigs" and "Tories."—Charles accepted this bill as he accepted many things which he did not like. He allowed Danby to go to the Tower, where he remained for some years. But there was a point beyond which Charles would not yield. The Commons were determined that no Roman Catholic king should rule in England and pressed an Exclusion Bill, denying to James, Duke of York, any claim

to the throne, because of his faith. Rather than accept the Bill, Charles dismissed the new Parliament in 1679 after it had sat for only a few weeks. At this juncture we note the beginning of the two great political parties. Those who favoured the Exclusion Bill were ready to accept as heir to the throne the young Duke of Monmouth, a son of Charles and Lucy Walters. From the circumstances that they petitioned Charles to call a Parliament, they were spoken of as the Petitioners. The other side professed to abhor a plan that would exclude the Stuart heir, James, from the throne and put Monmouth in his place, and were known as the Abhorrrers. Each side gave a nickname to the other. The Abhorrrers named their opponents Whigs, after a fanatical sect in Scotland. The Abhorrrers themselves were called Tories, a word applied to lawless Irish brigands. The Whigs were the party of the Parliament, the Tories the party of the king. The issue was the old issue between Roundheads and Cavaliers.

The Persecution of Roman Catholics.—The struggle between the two parties was extremely bitter. Shaftesbury, the Whig leader, stooped to use so wretched a creature as Oates against men of high character. Some Roman Catholic peers were arrested for treason, and when Lord Stafford was brought to trial in 1680, Oates and other witnesses swore that the Pope had made Stafford the paymaster of the Roman Catholic army which was to conquer England, and that Stafford had tried to hire assassins to kill Charles. There was not a word of truth in this evidence, but on the strength of it Stafford was sentenced to death and was executed. No fewer than thirty-five men went to death on the testimony of Oates. It was a fearful carnival of blood, and the king was, for the time, helpless before the passions of his people.

The Menace of Civil War and the Flight of Shaftesbury, 1682.—Frightened by these accusations against the Roman Catholics, many high-minded Whigs really believed that, if James should become king, the persecutions of the

days of Mary would be revived in England. Party feeling grew intense. Shaftesbury talked, as Pym had talked, of the liberties of England and even of taking up arms against the king; while, on the other hand, Charles was ready to dissolve any Parliament which should try to force its will upon him on the exclusion question. Civil war was perhaps not far off. When Charles called Parliament to meet at Oxford in 1681, the members brought with them armed followers. They pressed on the Exclusion Bill. But Charles read the times better than they did. The rank and file of the nation saw what passion kept Shaftesbury from seeing—that if Monmouth should be put on the throne, civil war would follow, since the many who were loyal to the ancient line would rally round James. The Church of England threw its weight against the Exclusion Bill. When Charles again dismissed his Parliament in 1681, it was clear that the nation was on his side. As a last desperate venture, Shaftesbury proposed to seize the Tower and to arouse Whig London to fight the king. When other leaders would not listen to so foolish a plan, he fled to Holland to avoid arrest for treason and soon died there. For the last four years of the reign of Charles no Parliament was called.

The Rye House Plot, 1683.—To some extreme Whigs the assassination of both Charles and James now seemed the only means of saving England from political tyranny and from the restored power of the Roman Catholic Church. A plot was formed to kill them at a place called the Rye House, as they returned from a visit to Newmarket. The plot was betrayed and never came to anything. It is not likely that Whigs of the better type knew about it, but they had a dangerous foe in Charles, who was now in a cruel and relentless temper. He soon caused Lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, and Lord Essex, leading Whigs of high family, to be arrested, in 1683, for plotting murder. The evidence of their connection with the Rye House plot was slight; but the Whigs had hounded their foes to death unjustly,

and the day of revenge had come. Again, as in the time of Charles I, was life the stake in the game of politics. Essex was found dead in prison and appears to have committed suicide. Sidney and Russell were both executed. Charles was making himself absolute. Always he had one clear aim—to rule in his own way. “I care just that for Parliament,” he once said, tossing his handkerchief in the air. Now he was in a fair way to carry out his wishes. He interfered in the government of London, a Whig city, and himself named the lord mayor and other officials. He treated many other towns in the same way. But in the moment of his triumph, he was struck down by a mortal illness. On his death-bed he no longer concealed his real opinions; he was reconciled to the Roman Catholic Church and died in that communion in 1685. As the law then stood, the priest who received him into the church had committed a crime for which the penalty was death.



WILLIAM, LORD RUSSELL
(1639-1683)

CHAPTER XIV

THE REVOLUTION

1. THE FALL OF JAMES II

James II, 1685-1689.—When Charles died, it might well have seemed that he had gained the despotic power which his father had struggled in vain to hold. No Parliament had met for nearly four years, and Charles had complete control of the state. The clergy of the Anglican Church were upholding the view that it was sin to resist the king.



JAMES II

Now there came to the throne a ruler who, though lacking the ability of Charles, was resolved to assert every right which Charles had seemed to gain. The outlook on life of James II was prejudiced and narrow, but he was energetic, sober, and industrious, a tender father to his children, always true to his friends, and beloved by his servants. He had adopted the Roman Catholic faith of his mother, and now the chief aim of his life

was to free his co-religionists from their burdens and to bring England back to his creed. James was obstinate and without tact. For more than a century it had been illegal to celebrate mass in England; yet, soon after coming to the throne, James attended mass with official pomp, in open defiance of the law. He took summary vengeance on the evil man who had wrought brutal injury to Roman Catholics. Titus Oates was convicted of perjury and flogged with such severity that it amounted almost to flaying alive. Yet he recovered and lived to receive a pension under William III.

Monmouth's Rising, 1689.—James was soon called upon to defend his throne by force of arms. Monmouth, exiled by his father, Charles II, claimed that he was the lawful king. He was now thirty-six years old, handsome, engaging in manners, but empty in mind and profligate in life, assuredly a strange leader of a religious cause. The west of England was the stronghold of Protestant dissent, and "the Protestant Duke," as Monmouth was called, landed in Dorsetshire in June, 1689, with a few followers and assumed the title of king. In a declaration he not only denounced James as a usurper but declared that he was a murderer, who had poisoned his brother, Charles II. Some thousands of peasants joined Monmouth, but, as Charles II had seen quite clearly, the nation would not have him to rule over it. About three weeks after he landed, his force was cut to pieces at Sedgemoor, his peasant followers fighting with great courage against trained regular soldiers. Monmouth was taken prisoner, and in this hour of trial proved a craven. Admitted to the presence of James, he fell on his knees to beg for his life. He declared that he had been misled by others and offered to become a Roman Catholic. He was quickly condemned and executed.



JAMES SCOTT, DUKE OF
MONMOUTH (1649-1685)

The Bloody Assize.—James, like Monmouth, failed in the hour of testing, for he was now relentlessly cruel. The chief-justice, Lord Jeffreys, a man of coarse and drunken habits, had the brutal and bullying manners suited to his early legal practice among degraded criminals. He had paid court to Charles II, who despised him and yet found a man of his type useful. For zeal in hunting down those concerned in the Rye House Plot, Jeffreys had been made chief-justice. He aspired to the higher post of lord

chancellor, and he knew his master's wishes when James sent him to the rebel district. In what is remembered as the "Bloody Assize," Jeffreys sat in court, half-maddened with drink, and with a fierce glare in his eye and angry shouts terrified innocent and guilty alike. The story is perhaps the most disgraceful in the annals of the English courts. Jeffreys told accused persons that to plead guilty would give a better chance of mercy and then condemned them with bloodthirsty fury. He sent to the scaffold about three hundred persons, granted to courtiers some eight hundred others to be sold as slave labourers in the colonies,



GEORGE, BARON JEFFREYS
(1648-1689)

and reaped for himself great sums from the fines which he imposed. James, delighted with this triumph over his enemies, rewarded Jeffreys by making him lord chancellor. In Scotland, as in England, the foes of James were overthrown. The Earl of Argyle, son of that Argyle who had been executed by Charles II, and, like him, a strenuous leader of the Protestant party, had been condemned to death for treason in 1681, but had escaped and gone

abroad. In 1685 he tried to arouse Scotland for Monmouth as king; but Scotland, like England, would not have Monmouth; and Argyle was, in the end, taken and executed.

James Quarrels with Parliament.—In 1685 all moderate men stood with James. His first Parliament was overwhelmingly Tory and gave him an abundant revenue. But he misread the situation and thought that the Tories would follow words by actions and obey the king blindly. He went on, therefore, with bold confidence. His first aim was to put Roman Catholics into the public service, a course which the Test Act forbade. Brushing aside this Act, James named Roman Catholics to the Privy Council

and appointed men of that faith as officers in the army. When Parliament met for a second session in November, 1685, and protested against these breaches of the law, he angrily dismissed it and ruled for the rest of his reign without Parliament.

James puts Roman Catholics into High Offices.—James kept up the army which had crushed Monmouth, brought over Roman Catholic regiments from Ireland, and formed a great military camp on Hounslow Heath. The English saw that he was preparing to do what Strafford had planned—to use an army to overawe opposition. Defying the Test Act, James made lord-lieutenant of Ireland a Roman Catholic, Richard Talbot, now created Earl of Tyrconnell. He drove from office in England leading men who would not change their faith or do his will. He allowed clergymen who joined the Church of Rome to retain their Anglican benefices. He gave Roman Catholics a footing in the universities. At Oxford he put Roman Catholics at the head of three colleges. When the vice-chancellor of Cambridge refused to confer a degree upon a Roman Catholic, James dismissed him from office. A deputation protested against this, and Jeffreys met them with this threat: “Go your way and sin no more lest a worse thing happen to you.” James was, however, going on with his plans too rapidly, and even the Pope warned him to be careful.

The Declaration of Indulgence, 1687.—Strife and suspicion in regard to religion were in the air. In the first year of the reign of James, Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, by which Henry IV of France, nearly a hundred years earlier, had granted a limited toleration to his Protestant subjects. When the Edict was revoked, many Protestants fled to England and brought with them tales of terrible suffering. There was real fear that, under a Roman Catholic king, English Protestants might soon have similar trials. James, blindly ignoring the angry opposition to his plans, took, in April, 1687, a step which brought on a

crisis. Like Charles II, he issued a Declaration of Indulgence, which ordained that no religious tests should be required from persons holding office, and that restrictions upon the public worship of those who differed from the Church of England should cease. James found that some



WILLIAM PENN (1644-1718)

Protestant nonconformists were ready to support him. The Quakers had always taught that the state ought not to meddle with any one's religion, and their leader, William Penn, who was in James's confidence, now worked hard for a policy of toleration. Nevertheless, the great mass of Protestant nonconformists and of Anglicans were intensely hostile to the Declaration of Indulgence.

The Trial of the Seven Bishops, 1688.—Resolved to have his Declaration announced from Anglican pulpits, James issued it a second time, in April, 1688, and he took a fatal step when he ordered the Anglican clergy to read it in their churches on two successive Sundays. James had now aroused a rebellious temper in the most conservative body in England. When the saintly and gentle Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, with six other bishops, presented to him a petition, which was really a refusal to obey the order, James flew into a rage. The Anglican clergy had long been teaching the duty of obedience to the king, and now these prelates dared to beard him! He declared that in this petition the bishops had issued a seditious libel, promptly sent them to the Tower, and brought them at length to trial. The nation watched the trial of the bishops with intense interest. Would the judges dare to oppose James? Would a jury dare bring in a verdict of "not guilty"? Soon came the answer. A verdict of acquittal was given, and

received with a frantic exultation which ought to have revealed to James his danger. Even his soldiers on Hounslow Heath gave a great shout of joy at the news. Just when excitement was high, James's queen bore him a son. His two daughters, Mary and Anne, had been reared as Protestants, but this heir to the throne would be brought up, of course, in the faith which James now held, and the English saw before them the prospect of a succession of Roman Catholic rulers. It was this final fear which promptly brought to a head the opposition to the designs of the king.

Flight of James, 1688.—England thus became ripe for revolution. On the day of the acquittal of the seven bishops, a few leading English statesmen, both Tory and Whig, joined secretly in signing an invitation to William of Orange to come to England. William, the ruler of Holland, was the husband of James's eldest daughter and was also a grandson of Charles I (see *Genealogies*). He had become the leader of Europe against the designs of Louis XIV and was the foremost champion of the Protestant cause. He had tried to prevent the attacks of Monmouth and Argyle on James and to remain friendly with his father-in-law. But now he was ready to resist James, who would, if successful, probably support the aims of Louis XIV to master Europe. In September, 1688, William issued a public declaration that he was coming to ensure the holding of a free Parliament in England. His preparations were extensive. More than five hundred ships, carrying a force of fourteen thousand men, left the shores of Holland. They sailed down the Channel in magnificent array, and on November 5th, William landed at Torbay in Devonshire. It looked as if England was once more to see civil war. Few, however, would fight for James. Now, when it was too late, he called a Parliament. As William slowly advanced toward London, James's followers, including even his own daughter Anne, deserted him, and he was in fear for his own life. His mind turned to France, with whose

aid he felt sure of re-establishing his power, and sending thither the queen and her infant son, he prepared to follow them. When he first tried to escape, some fishermen stopped him, and he was brought back to London. But William wished him to go, and on Christmas Day, 1688, James landed in France, a fugitive from his realm of England.

2. THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT

The Convention Parliament Deposes James, 1689.—With the flight of James II a great crisis had come. The only power which could now speak for England was the Parliament. Was James still king, or had he forfeited the crown? If he was no longer king, who should be named to take his place, and what terms should Parliament make with the new ruler? William of Orange had not come to depose James. He had come, as he declared, to help the English to secure a free Parliament which should end misgovernment; he had come, too, in the hope of enlisting England on his side in the war with France. No legal Parliament existed, and without a king there was no one who could legally call one. William did the best thing possible. He summoned the Lords and all those who had sat in the Commons under Charles II. They advised that an election should be held for a Convention which was to be a Parliament in everything but the name. The Convention met and acted promptly. The Marquis of Halifax, who prided himself on being neither Whig nor Tory but a Trimmer, one prepared so to throw his weight as to trim the boat in a time of danger, presided in the Lords, and it was he who shaped the revolution. The Convention declared that James had forfeited the crown by his flight and that a new sovereign must be named. Gossip spread a tale, not now believed, that the infant son of James II was, in reality, a changeling put secretly in place of the girl born to the queen. Since Mary was, in such case, heiress to the throne, some wished to name her queen, with William as

her consort. William declined, however, to be "gentleman usher" to his wife, and in the end William and Mary were declared king and queen, the survivor to rule alone, and the executive power to rest with William while he lived.

The Bill of Rights, 1689.—The Whigs insisted that the Convention should draw up a statement of the rights of the nation which James had violated, and William and Mary accepted this Declaration of Rights. Then the crown was offered to them, and the revolution was complete. When a regular Parliament was summoned by the king and the queen in 1689, the Declaration of Rights was turned into a formal Bill of Rights, which defines, as emphatically as the formal clauses of an Act of Parliament can define them, the fundamental liberties asserted by the nation at this time.

1. The king cannot dispense with or suspend the laws.

2. The king cannot levy any taxes without the consent of Parliament.

3. The king cannot keep a standing army in time of peace except by consent of Parliament.

4. Subjects may freely petition the king.

5. Parliaments are to be held frequently, and elections must be free, that is, without any coercion applied to the voters. Members must have free speech in Parliament, without being called to account for their words in any other place.

6. William and Mary are declared king and queen. Failing children to Mary, the crown is to pass to her sister, Anne, and to her heirs, but with this condition, that no Roman Catholic, and no one who is married to a Roman Catholic, can inherit the crown of England.

The last clause shows how bitterly the nation resented the tactless course of James in regard to religion. It marks, also, the end of the theory of divine right, urged so strongly by the Stuarts. Parliament, now supreme, sets up a king and says who may and who may not succeed him. Each of the other clauses touches a difficulty felt during the tyranny

of James. The claims made in respect to government are moderate enough. It will be noted that, while Parliament reserved the sole right to grant money, it did not yet claim the right, also, to spend it, or in any way to control the king in his choice of his ministers. It could, if it liked, refuse money, and this was enough; no king could long defy a body which possessed this power.

The Toleration Act, 1689.—Next in importance to the political was the religious question. It so happened that there were soon a number of vacant bishoprics to fill. When an oath of allegiance to the new ruler was required of all officials in church and state, Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, six other bishops, and about three hundred clergy, refused it, on the ground that they had taken a similar oath to James and were bound by it as long as he lived. Nothing could shake their resolution, and they were at last deprived of their places. The singular body of Non-jurors which they formed did not die out until 1805. Thus it came about that William was free to choose an Archbishop of Canterbury who would work for religious peace. He appointed Tillotson, a man of liberal views, and named men of like mind to other sees. The time had come to grant freedom of worship to the Protestant nonconformists. Puritan and Anglican, opposed in the state and on the battle-field for so many years, had now stood side by side against the plans of James. So one of the first things that Parliament did in 1689 was to pass a Toleration Act, which gave to all Protestants full rights of public worship. The repressive policy of Whitgift and of Laud came at last to an end. Yet the old fires still burned. An attempt to repeal the Test Act, which required all office-holders to conform to the Anglican Church, failed. So also did a Comprehension Bill, which would have so broadened the Church of England as to permit the inclusion of the more moderate nonconformists. Instead, we find now the system, which still endures, of one church closely linked with the state, while other Protestants are free to maintain their

own systems. The Roman Catholic Church, for the sake of which James had lost his throne, was still severely coerced. It did not gain full liberty for more than a hundred years.

3. THE REVOLUTION IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

Battle of Killiecrankie, 1689.—While England was settling down, without war, under its new king and queen, forces were at work in Scotland and in Ireland which led to bloodshed. Scotland, with its people intensely Protestant, had disliked the rule of James even more than had England. But would Scotland, still an independent kingdom, copy the settlement of the crown made by England? William called a Scottish Convention. In it the Jacobites—the adherents of James—were powerless, and in due course William and Mary were proclaimed rulers of Scotland. The Presbyterian Church became now the national church of Scotland, and the persecuted covenanting ministers came back to their parishes. Many of the upper classes and of the common people of the north resented this triumph of the Presbyterians and were still willing to fight for the cause of a church ruled by bishops. The Stuart House had also devoted friends proud of the royal line which the Scots had given to England. Open war broke out. Graham of Claverhouse, whom James II made Viscount Dundee, gathered an army in the Highlands. William's general, Mackay, marched against him, and a fierce battle took place at Killiecrankie in 1689. The charge of the Highlanders carried all before it, but Dundee was killed, and his death left the Jacobites without a leader. William could now rely upon the fiery zeal of the Covenanters to crush out opposition, and by 1691 the cause of James in Scotland was lost.

The Massacre of Glencoe, 1692.—Then came a cruel deed, which remained a bitter memory. The Highland chiefs were given until January 1st, 1692, to take the oath of allegiance to William, under severe penalties if they failed. Nearly all took the oath. William's secretary in

Scotland, John Dalrymple, known as the Master of Stair, was a Lowlander, anxious to teach the Highlanders that they must obey the law. When MacIan, chief of a small clan of Macdonalds, detained, it is said, by snow, did not come in to take the oath within the time named, Stair planned a savage vengeance. William was then in Flanders. Stair sent over for his signature a warrant to extirpate the rebellious clan at Glencoe, and, as some allege, William signed the order without reading it. Then Stair sent a troop of one hundred and twenty men, under one of the Campbell clan, age-long enemies of the Macdonalds, to the remote vale of Glencoe. His orders were to destroy every one under seventy years of age. The soldiers were received as friends. They lodged with the Macdonalds for some two weeks, until suspicion was lulled. Then one night the signal for destruction was given. Thirty-eight persons were butchered; the rest escaped to the mountains. A cry of horror at the treacherous massacre went up all over Scotland. In the end William dismissed Stair, but the memory of Glencoe long served to keep alive hatred of the revolution among the Jacobites. That so much was made of it shows how times had changed; in earlier bloody feuds such an incident would have been thought petty and would have been little noticed. One explanation of this change is that the Scots, occupied for one hundred and fifty years with religious strife, were now thinking of other things. In 1695 the whole nation was keenly aroused by a project to found a great colony on the Isthmus of Darien, and men signed subscriptions for stock as before they had signed the Covenant. Scotland was passing into a new world of thought.

The Irish Parliament of James, 1689.—In Ireland the religious views of James II appealed to the masses of the people, and he resolved to make the island a base for an attack on William. Early in 1689 he was able to get past the English guarding the Channel and to land in Ireland with a French army. For about a year most of

the country was in his hands. He called a Parliament at Dublin in May. In it, naturally, the Roman Catholics were now supreme; and they proceeded at once to redress their many wrongs. While liberty of opinion was to be allowed to all Christians, Protestants, on pain of death, were forbidden to hold public services. The Parliament passed laws restoring to Irish owners the lands seized since 1641. The English who had bought, in good faith, any of the lands so seized, were to be compensated, and, to provide money to pay them, the lands of some two thousand of William's supporters in Ireland were declared forfeited.

The Siege of Londonderry, 1689.—The Irish tasted for a brief time the sweets of success against their old oppressors. But reverses soon came. Londonderry, in the north, held out against James. His forces surrounded the town on the landward side, and prevented relief from the sea by placing a strong boom across the Foyle River. But the city would not surrender. When the heart of the soldiers quailed, civilians manned the feeble walls. Out beyond the boom English ships hovered for weeks, but could not pass that obstacle. At last one of them sailed upon it at full speed, broke it by the terrific shock, and thus opened a way for bringing in supplies. Londonderry was relieved, and James withdrew his army southward.

Battle of the Boyne, 1690, and Pacification of Limerick, 1691.—In the summer of 1690 William himself, having delayed, as many thought, too long, went to Ireland, and in July he met his father-in-law at the Battle of the Boyne. The result was the crushing defeat of James. He soon departed from Ireland, leaving his general, Sarsfield, in command. The lost cause made an heroic defence of Limerick, but nothing could save it. By the Pacification of Limerick, October, 1691, William gave the Irish soldiers the choice of enlisting under him or of going into exile. Nearly all chose exile, and some of them won fame in other lands. But thousands of destitute wives and children were left behind in Ireland. Then triumphant Protestantism

worked its will. Though William had promised, at Limerick, mild treatment to those accepting his rule, the Irish Parliament, now wholly Protestant, was fiercely resolved to hold down the dreaded Roman Catholic majority and was not prepared to adhere to these terms. It passed severe laws aimed at the entire repression of the opposing faith. None of its adherents might be armed. Its bishops and clergy were banished. No Roman Catholic might teach a school, and, on pain of forfeiting their property, parents might not send children abroad for Roman Catholic instruction. The priest who married a Roman Catholic to a Protestant was to be hanged. A Roman Catholic might not even keep a valuable horse, for he must sell any horse which he possessed to a Protestant who should offer for it as much as five guineas. The desolate country settled down to a century of oppression. This was eased in many cases, for the law was often not rigorously enforced.

English Naval Defeat at Beachy Head, 1690.—While William was absent in Ireland in 1690, Louis XIV saw a chance to invade England. His fleet of eighty sail won a notable victory when attacked by a combined Dutch and English fleet of some sixty sail off Beachy Head. The Dutch were in the van; their ships bore the brunt of the fight; and when the Dutch were beaten, the English fled disgracefully. The French landed in England and burned Teignmouth in Devonshire. For a time the outlook was serious. The French were in command of the sea and could send help freely to Ireland. William hurried back to England to meet the danger, and it was soon clear that the English, however divided among themselves, would unite against the invader, and the French withdrew.

Final Ruin of James's Cause at La Hogue, 1692.—In 1692 Louis made a last effort to help James, and gathered at La Hogue a great fleet. The English and the Dutch, keen to wipe out the disgrace of Beachy Head, attacked it, and James himself watched the struggle from the French shore. It was his last hope, and the issue was not less

critical than when Philip's Armada threatened England. When the French lost the day, James went back to the palace of St. Germain, in which Louis had lodged him, and soon abandoned all thought of a restoration. His later years showed the sincerity of his faith. He thanked God that he had been willing to give up an earthly for a heavenly crown. To the last he exhorted his heir to cling to his faith, even at the cost of the English throne.

4. THE SUPREMACY OF PARLIAMENT

William III, 1689-1702.—With the success of La Hogue, William and Mary were secure on the throne. In appearance and temperament they formed a vivid contrast. He was small, reserved, and sickly; she, large, voluble, full of animation. "The King thinks all the Queen says all, the Parliament does all," said a contemporary wit. Mary was a noble-hearted woman, the best of all the Stuarts, and gave to her husband a tender affection. William, on the other hand, was reserved and preoccupied, and he sometimes treated his wife harshly. His hold upon his new subjects was slight. Often he seemed blunt and churlish. He did not understand English prejudices.



WILLIAM III

He made intimate friends of Dutchmen only, and especially of William Bentwick, whom he created Earl of Portland. William could not conceal his preference for Holland over England. We can hardly wonder, then, that the English had no love for him. Yet it was this pale and haggard man, with cold and unsympathetic manners, worn with asthma,

and almost an invalid, who piloted Europe through a terrible crisis. Louis XIV was resolved to make France supreme in Europe, and he saw that, to do it, he must first conquer Holland. To baulk France was William's life work. As a general he was little more than a clever amateur; he never won a great victory in the open field, and he suffered many defeats. Yet his tenacity made the victories of his enemies useless, and he succeeded in checking France in the face of crushing difficulties.

The Mutiny Bill, 1689, and the Triennial Bill, 1694.—One chief difficulty related to the army. Engaged as he was in a desperate struggle with France, William required a standing army. Here he came face to face with one of the deepest English prejudices. The Tories remembered that a standing army under Cromwell had held the nation in its iron grasp, while the Whigs remembered that James II, having raised an army to crush Monmouth, had kept it to menace English liberty. If there must be a standing army, Parliament was resolved to control it. The vital thing in an army is the power of the officers to enforce discipline. Special powers of discipline were needed in 1689, when some troops broke out into mutiny against going on service abroad. To meet the need, Parliament then passed a Mutiny Bill, giving army courts power to punish mutiny and desertion with death. Parliament granted these powers for only six months at first, and later for a year; if they were not revived before the end of the period named, the soldiers would be free to desert, and the officers would have no power to punish them. The plan, of course, gave the control of the army which Parliament desired, and the system thus begun has remained in force. Since that date the power of discipline has been granted by Parliament for only one year at a time; were this Army Bill not renewed year by year, the army could not exist. The provision serves the further purpose of checking attempts by the king to rule without calling Parliament, as the Stuarts did; for, if he is to have an army, he must meet

Parliament at least once a year, in order that it may renew the Army Bill. There was another danger—that, having a Parliament to his taste, the king might keep it too long, as Charles II had done when he retained a Parliament for eighteen years. To make such a course impossible, the Triennial Bill was passed in 1694, limiting the life of a Parliament to three years and providing, also, that three years must not pass without a Parliament.

The Beginning of the Cabinet System.—Such steps show that the time had come when a king could do little without the support of Parliament. Yet Parliament was torn by faction, and it was not easy to learn the mind of its several hundred members. No one could tell on one day what the Houses would do on the next. To make sure of support, William chose as advisers those who had influence in the two Houses. It then became their business to see through Parliament the measures upon which they had advised the king. In the end William took his ministers almost wholly from the party strongest in the House of Commons. From 1693 to 1699 England was ruled by a small group of Whig statesmen known as the “Junto,” who had behind them the steady support of their party. The Junto really marks the beginning of the cabinet system of government; that is to say, government by party leaders rather than by the king. It was clear now that the king could do only what his advisers would support. He must, therefore, accept the policy of the dominant party. Thus the cabinet, instead of the king, came in time to direct the government.

The Founding of the Bank of England, 1694.—In finance William had to accept such control. His predecessors had been granted a revenue for life, but, much to his disgust, he was granted £700,000 a year for four years only and was required to account to Parliament for the spending of the money. William needed great sums. Cromwell had strained England's finances by spending £2,000,000 in one year on the army and the navy. In time of war,

William was granted £5,000,000 in a single year, and, in addition, he piled up huge deficits, amounting at the end of the reign to £20,000,000. The nation could not meet these obligations from its current income, and, as the result, the national debt now began. The loans were advanced by a new institution created especially for the purpose. Hitherto England had had no bank, but in 1694, at the suggestion of a Scot, William Paterson, the Bank of England was founded. It lent the government £1,200,000 at eight per cent, and the moneyed classes, who were chiefly Whigs, furnished the necessary capital. The bank, indeed, had the important political effect of pledging possessors of wealth to the support of William's government. Such debts, it was certain, James, should he return, would never acknowledge. Now, too, the coinage was at last reformed. Debased coins had been a great curse of earlier days and had made prices uncertain. In 1696 Montagu, William's treasurer, used the milled edge for coins, and thus stopped the clipping of small pieces of silver or of gold from the edge.

The Peace of Ryswick, 1697.--A lull in the war came in 1697, when France made the Peace of Ryswick, giving up the conquests she had made during the war and acknowledging William as king, with the right of succession to Anne, Mary's sister. Mary herself had died childless in 1694. After the Peace of Ryswick, William wished to keep up a considerable army; for he saw clearly that war was more likely to break out again if England should seem weak. But he could not dispel the English fear of military rule. After the peace, Parliament reduced the army to ten thousand men, and insisted, further, that the Dutch, Irish, and Scottish soldiers who had fought in William's wars should be dismissed, and only the English retained. William's comment was bitter. At one blow, he said, Parliament itself had ruined England as a military power, a result which Louis XIV had not been able to accomplish by eight years of war. Yet, though he threatened to

abdicate and actually prepared a farewell speech, Parliament would not yield.

The Spanish Succession.—William's fears were justified. Louis XIV, seeing this disarmament, thought that he could defy William, and he actually did so when a great European question arose. Charles II, the last king of Spain of the Hapsburg line, died childless in 1700. The prospect of this event had long been a kind of nightmare to Europe. Louis XIV had married Charles's sister, and since the issue of this marriage became the next in the line of succession to the throne of Spain, the dire prospect lay before William and other rulers that France and Spain might be united under the Bourbons of France and be strong enough to dominate Europe. Protests from Europe had led Louis XIV to renounce the Bourbon rights in Spain on certain conditions. Now, however, when Charles II died, and his will was found to name as his heir Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV, Louis was tempted and fell. He accepted the terms of the will, and the Bourbon prince became king of Spain, as Philip V.

Death of William III, 1702.—Louis soon defied William in another way. When James II died in 1701, Louis, who had admitted William's rights, promptly recognized James's son as king of England. This was to violate the terms of the Treaty of Ryswick. By this reckless act the nation was stirred to its depths, and for the time Whig and Tory forgot their differences. Parliament voted William forty thousand soldiers and forty thousand sailors. But before the long and bloody War of the Spanish Succession broke out, William was no more. Early in 1702 he fell from his horse and died shortly afterwards as the result of the accident. At the death of Mary in 1694 the national sorrow had been deep. William, however, was little regretted. He had proved, perhaps, the best ruler of England since the days of Elizabeth, but the nation could never forgive him for being a foreigner. Gratitude is a virtue of little account in politics.

The Freedom of the Press, 1695.—We see forces working in the reign of William which point to the dawn of the modern era. The press, which had been under strict censorship, now became free. In 1662, when there was fear that the Puritans might plot to overthrow Charles II, a Licensing Act had been passed, putting all printing under control of the government. Only at London, York, and the two universities, might anything be printed, and the number of master printers was limited to twenty. A licenser must approve of everything to be issued. This law, which was to be in force until 1679, was harshly used to check anything not strictly in harmony with the narrow policy of the Clarendon Code. In 1679 it was renewed, but when the time came for the second renewal, in 1695, Whig influence was supreme, the censor had made himself unpopular, and the Commons would not renew the Act. Thus the censorship of the press ceased to exist. Since that time the press has been regulated, not by a censor, but by the law against libel and other offences.

The Act of Settlement, 1701.—The judges were now placed in an independent position. Formerly they had been paid chiefly by fees and had been removable at the king's pleasure; but the Act of Settlement, 1701, provided that they should be paid fixed salaries, and that they could be removed only for some crime, or by a vote of both Houses of Parliament. In earlier times the king had often forced the judges to do his will; now he had no control over them. The same Act of Settlement made provision for the succession. James's daughter, Anne, was to succeed William. She had married Prince George of Denmark, but since all her children had died in childhood, it was necessary to look elsewhere for a successor to the throne. Parliament now gave the right of succession to Sophia, Electress of Hanover, the next Protestant in the royal line (see Genealogies). Henry VIII had dictated to Parliament as to his successor; Parliament now named the ruler; the claim to divine right was shattered indeed!

5. THE REIGN OF ANNE

Anne, 1702-1714.—Anne, a simple-minded, dull, obstinate, but well-meaning woman, succeeded William at a time when there were heavy clouds of war. The last ruling queen, the great Elizabeth, had been able herself to do little to meet the dangers of the Spanish war, and Anne was not fitted to grapple with such problems. So it came about that the rule of a woman at this time only served to make clear the final passing of authority to Parliament. Anne's subjects called her "Good Queen Anne." She was devoted to the Church of England, and the bishops whom she named were men of high character.

We now hear much of high and low church, high church still fighting to coerce dissent, low church to broaden toleration. There can be no doubt that the nation at large was weary of religious strife; but leaders still used the old cries to stir up party passion. Anne herself was high church and Tory in her sympathies. She had the Stuart faith that there was a certain magic in royalty.



ANNE

Superstitious people still believed that the royal touch would cure scrofula, "the king's evil." Profligate Charles II had wrought these wonders. William had jeered at the practice, but Anne gave the royal touch with solemn ceremony.

The War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1713.—Before William died he had made a Grand Alliance with Austria and Holland, the chief aims of which were to secure Holland against France and to make impossible the union of the crowns of France and Spain. War was declared in 1702—a terrible war, which lasted until 1713 and was only less bloody than the long struggle with Napoleon just one

hundred years later. For the first time since the victory of Henry V at Agincourt, English soldiers and an English general won great battles on the continent of Europe. The general was John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, who seemed to have been born for war. He began early. At the age of eighteen he was serving at Tangier—the first station in the Mediterranean to be held by the English. Later, owing largely to Marlborough's victories, they secured Gibraltar. The first battle in which he took part



JOHN CHURCHILL, DUKE OF
MARLBOROUGH (1650–1722)

was a naval battle, in 1672, against the Dutch, under Ruyter, and ever after he realized the need for England to link power on the sea with power on the land. In English politics Churchill, like most courtiers of the time, had tried to stand well both with the deposed James II and with William III, and when William was at war with France he had given secret information to the enemy. Once, indeed, Wil-

liam had sent him to the Tower, under a charge of treason, which was not pressed. His country needed him. This handsome and resourceful man was not less courtier and diplomatist than soldier. His tact saved the Grand Alliance, in which petty German princes, narrow Dutch burghers, and great states like Austria and England must be held together for many long years. Under him the art of war assumed a new meaning. His care for his men and for every detail of his plans, his coolness in the hottest battle, his quick and brilliant decision, and his bold disregard of military traditions, enabled him to inspire such confidence and strike such fearful blows that he shattered for the time the military power of France.

The Battle of Blenheim, 1704.—In 1704 Marlborough saw that the French were planning to attack Vienna and there to dictate terms to Austria. Though his Dutch allies wished him to stay where he could protect them, he made a rapid dash across Germany from his position on the Moselle. During this long march Marlborough showed his soldierly qualities. Over bad roads and dragging heavy



EUROPE IN 1713

artillery, he advanced often fourteen miles a day. Every need was foreseen; stores of food and clothing were ready when required. At the end of each day, it was said, his men "had nothing to do but to pitch their huts, boil their kettles, and lie down to rest." Men and horses arrived on the Danube fresher than on the day they started. Marlborough joined Prince Eugene, the brilliant Austrian leader, and in the end was able to attack a French and Bavarian force of

some fifty-eight thousand men with an army nearly equal in numbers. The French had the advantage of position. They were drawn up with their right in the little village of Blenheim on the Danube, and their line stretched five or six miles across a valley to wooded hills on the left. A stream flowing through marshy ground protected their front. Tallard, the French general, thought his position impregnable. He repulsed Marlborough's infantry attacking his right in Blenheim village, and he held Eugene on his left for half the day. His centre seemed safe, but Marlborough, after failing at first, got across the marsh with eight thousand cavalry, and in a supreme charge broke the enemy line. Thousands of the French were driven into the Danube and drowned. In the Battle of Blenheim they lost more than thirty thousand men. France had not met with such a defeat for a century. The terror inspired by "Malbrook" is celebrated in French song to this day.

Marlborough's Victories.—In the same year the Earl of Peterborough invaded Spain and overran half of that country. An English fleet captured Gibraltar, which has remained a British possession ever since. Marlborough was soon advancing to assault Paris itself, and he fought over much of the ground which was fought over by the Germans in a similar effort in 1914-18. The French worked desperately to check him, but during a prolonged campaign he won three brilliant victories—Ramillies in 1706, Oudenarde in 1708, Malplaquet in 1709. By these successes Marlborough reached the very summit of military glory. It was, however, sanguinary work. At Malplaquet twenty thousand of Marlborough's men were slaughtered, before he drove back the starving French troops who barred his way to Paris. He prayed that never again might he see the carnage of battle. Malplaquet proved, indeed, his last great contest. Owing, as we shall see, to political intrigues by the Tories, he was soon replaced, but Britain took little further part in the war, though the Treaty of Utrecht was not signed until 1713.

The Scottish Darien Colony.—Amidst the party strife of the time and these scenes of war, we are hardly prepared for a political measure of far-reaching wisdom—the union of England and Scotland. Trade, rather than religion, was becoming the foremost interest in political life. Though Scotland and England had the same king, Scotland, as a separate realm, was shut out from trade with the English colonies and with India. The Scots were resolved to have colonies of their own, and with keen enthusiasm they took up, in 1695, a plan to found a great colony at Darien, now Panama, where they might command trade on both the Atlantic and the Pacific and rival England in America and India. William Paterson, who had founded the Bank of England, was the chief organizer of the colony. He was better as banker than as colonist. The vessels sent out in 1698 were laden with many things useless in a tropical country, such as great periwigs and heavy woollen cloth. Hundreds of colonists began at Darien a town called New Edinburgh. But Spain claimed the whole region and prepared to send a fleet to seize the colony. When tropical diseases broke out, the colonists who escaped these maladies sailed away in panic. In 1699 thirteen hundred fresh colonists arrived at the deserted spot. A Spanish fleet arrived, too, and in the end the Scots yielded to the demands of the Spaniards that they should abandon the colony.

The Union of England and Scotland, 1707.—Little as such a result seemed likely, it was the failure of the Darien colony which brought to a head plans for the union of Scotland and England. For the moment the Scots were bitterly angry with England. She, it was charged, had inspired Spain to ruin Darien, in order that the Scots might not become her rivals in trade. In its rage the Scottish Parliament took steps which meant complete separation from England. Its Act of Security, passed in 1704, provided that after the death of Anne the crown of Scotland might not be held by the ruler of England. To this Act, much as she disliked it, Anne, as queen of Scotland, was forced to con-

sent, for the hands of England were tied by the French war. In 1705 the Scots showed their temper in another way. It happened that a Scottish ship had been seized in the Thames, on a charge of illegal trading. Soon after, an English ship, the *Worcester*, was driven by stress of weather into the Firth of Forth. Drunken talk by some of the crew as to what they had seen and done led to the arrest of the ship's captain, Green, and his officers, and to their trial for alleged murder and piracy on one of their voyages. There was no real evidence in support of the charge, but Green and two others were hanged, chiefly because the Edinburgh mob demanded the blood of Englishmen. It was now clear that, if such things were to happen, war between the two kingdoms could not be far off, and wise men in both countries took steps to avert such a disaster. Each Parliament appointed commissioners to treat for union. The Scots feared for Presbyterianism, but the assurance that their state church would not be disturbed removed this difficulty. In the end terms were agreed to, and the Union took effect in 1707, Scotland secured complete free trade with England and her colonies—a gain of weighty moment to a people full of enterprise and energy. But, though she retained her own laws and courts, she gave up her Parliament—a real loss to her national life. Henceforth she was to send sixteen peers, to be chosen by the Scottish peers, and forty-five elected commoners to the Parliament at London.

The Tory Attack on Marlborough.—The leader in charge of affairs at home, while Marlborough won victories abroad, was the Earl of Godolphin. He was tactful and prudent, never in the way and never out of the way, as Charles II had said. Marlborough had declared that he would not command the army unless Godolphin were made treasurer, so as to keep up the supply of the sinews of war. They were both Tories, and as long as Parliament remained Tory, their course was easy enough. Now, however, under the Triennial Bill, elections were frequent, and the House

of Commons became Whig. Marlborough, though in name a Tory, was not a strong party man, and in time he relied wholly upon the Whigs. At court his great ally was his wife, who had long been Anne's most intimate friend and counsellor. Anne disliked the party system, and in spite of the Whig majority in Parliament, wished to retain Tory ministers. The influence of the duchess, however, aided by Godolphin, secured their dismissal. But the imperious duchess was often arrogant and tactless with the queen, and this Anne's slow but obstinate temper resented. The Tories, of course, used the faults of the duchess to their own advantage. A certain Mrs. Masham became intimate with Anne, and from such petty intrigue resulted, at last, the fall of Marlborough.

The Prosecution of Dr. Sacheverell, 1709-1710.—This climax arrived only gradually. The Whigs lost prestige, when English generals, though not Marlborough himself, suffered some reverses on the continent. Steadily the tide of public opinion set in favour of the Tories. Religious passions were dragged into the party conflict. A certain Dr. Sacheverell preached at St. Paul's Cathedral, in 1709, a sermon setting forth the extreme views that resistance of any kind to the sovereign was unlawful, that the church was in danger from the toleration conceded to nonconformists by recent legislation, and that the Test Act, excluding them from office, should be more strictly enforced. The Whig ministry had not the good sense to leave such a man alone, to discredit himself by his own extravagance. Since his reference to resisting the king was really an attack on what the Whigs called "the glorious revolution," in which a king had been resisted and overthrown, he was ordered to appear at the bar of the House of Commons and in the end was tried for high crimes and misdemeanour. During his trial he became a popular hero. Prayers were offered for him in some churches. A vast crowd followed him to the place of trial, shouting for his long life and safe deliverance. Anne's chaplain praised him publicly,

and she herself attended the trial. He was found guilty, but the sentence was so light as to be a rebuke to the Whigs; it was that his sermons should be burned by the common hangman, and that he should not preach for three years. After the verdict, rejoicings were heard all over England, and fifty thousand people assembled to welcome Sacheverell at Shrewsbury.

The Dismissal of Marlborough, 1711.—The enthusiasm for Sacheverell showed how strong was Tory feeling, and its reality was proved at an election which brought in a great Tory majority. The consequences were serious. At last the queen took courage to act against the Whigs. In 1711 the Duke of Marlborough and his wife were dismissed from all their offices. So relentless still was the war of party that, in fear of a charge of high treason, the duke was even obliged to live abroad. The Tories were resolved to end the long war which the Whigs had carried on. The House of Lords was still Whig, but the Tories secured a majority there by persuading the queen to create twelve new Tory peers—a step of deep moment, for it meant that the Lords must henceforth, in some way, be forced to follow the lead of the Commons.

The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.—The Tories made peace, but at the sacrifice of honour. Ormonde, who succeeded Marlborough, entered into treacherous negotiations with the French in the field and deserted the allies at a critical period of the war. Britain herself fared well enough. The Treaty of Utrecht, signed on March 31st, 1713, yielded to her Gibraltar, Minorca, Hudson Bay, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the French part of St. Christopher. The right of the Bourbon, Philip V, to the throne of Spain was admitted; while, on the other hand, France admitted the right of the British Parliament to fix the succession to the throne. The Assiento Treaty with Spain, made at the same time, gave Britain a monopoly of the profitable slave-trade with the Spanish colonies, against which there was as yet little stirring of the nation's conscience. The treaty

also gave the British a footing for trade with these colonies, by permitting them to send to Panama yearly one ship of six hundred tons, with its cargo. Britain alone was now strong on the sea. The strain of the long war had put Holland in a secondary place. For the same reason France had allowed her navy to decline, and the decay of Spain was already marked. Britain was, for the time, the one great naval power.

The Persecution of Dissenters.—Harley, Earl of Oxford, and St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, the Tory leaders, were now masters of the situation. Reaction was running very high, and even the Whigs joined in the Tory policy of persecuting nonconformists. Some of these, in order to qualify for office under the Test Act, would take the communion in the Church of England, but, at other times, would attend nonconformist services. The Occasional Conformity Bill, 1711, declared that any office-holder who attended a dissenting place of worship was to be dismissed and was to be incapable of holding office for a year after he had ceased such attendance. Few dissenters, however, retired from office. Some evaded the law by having chaplains in their own houses, so that they should not feel obliged to attend a dissenting place of worship; others became regular members of the Church of England and swelled the ranks of the low church party. The Tories passed other intolerant measures. The Schism Act of 1714 forbade dissenters to teach in public schools or even in private schools.

The Death of Anne, 1714, and the Fall of Bolingbroke.—The triumph of the Tories proved brief. A quarrel between Bolingbroke and Oxford was one source of weakness, and in July, 1714, Anne dismissed Oxford. The chief trouble lay, however, in the question of the succession. Anne was now a widow and childless. Like Elizabeth, she disliked any reference to her successor. The recent death of Sophia, Electress of Hanover, whom Parliament had made legal successor to Queen Anne, left George, son of the Electress, heir to the throne. Bolingbroke, however, in-

tended to bring back the Stuarts in the person of James Edward. But the unhappy queen, worn out by the factions about her, was stricken with mortal illness a few days after the dismissal of Oxford and before the completion of Bolingbroke's plans. When the queen was known to be dying, two Whig dukes, Argyle and Somerset, appeared in the queen's Council and demanded, as privy councillors, a voice in the nation's affairs. The Tories could not resist this claim to an old constitutional right, and other Whigs soon joined the two Whig dukes in helping the direction of events at this time by the Privy Council. It was vital to the Whigs that the line of Hanover should succeed, and they had the law on their side. On the day of the queen's death, George I was proclaimed king, and the old horror of civil war led the mass of the nation to accept quietly what was done. It was certain that the new king would support the Whigs. Bolingbroke, all hope of his own triumph ended, wrote to Dean Swift: "The Earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday; the queen died on Sunday. What a world this is, and how does fortune banter us!"

6. SCIENCE AND LETTERS

The Growth of Liberty.—When Anne, the last of the Stuart sovereigns, died, we find that new forces had become effective in English life. It is instructive to compare the outlook of the nation at this time with its earlier views under Anne's grandfather, Charles I. Then the spirit of religious intolerance was so strong that the leaders of the Church of England were resolved to coerce all others into conformity to one model. In political affairs the king still talked of his absolute power as derived from God, and of the duty of the people to obey. But the English nation had rejected such views, and now, after a long era of strife, all was changed. The Church of England had failed in its exclusive claims; and religious toleration, though not yet complete, was already the policy of the state. The king, so far from being supreme, now owed his title to an Act of

Parliament, and was, in the end, to lose his political power. Such changes affected the inmost mind of the English nation. Yet, on the surface, the people seemed to have had little share in making them. It was a few great families which played the chief part in the English revolution. In the background, however, was the strength of the nation's will, and now the task of English civilization was to train and enlighten this people whose liberties were secure. It is a task not yet half accomplished, but its meaning had become clear by the time of Anne.

Sir Isaac Newton.—This work of education is so vital that the real key to what England was to become is found in the progress of science and letters. In science she had already the great name of Bacon, and, since his day, had made creditable advances. The Royal Society had existed for some time in germ, when it was definitely organized in 1660. It promoted scientific research and had found its greatest ornament when Isaac Newton (1642-1727) was elected a Fellow in 1672. His achievements were many, but the greatest was the discovery of gravitation as the regulating law for the movements of the earth and of all other bodies. Pope wrote of him:

Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night:
God said "Let Newton be," and all was light.

Addison and Steele.—Newton's work showed the wider range of thought in England. The interests of the English people were now more varied than they had been in any previous age. London was already a great city. With a population of probably more than six hundred thousand, it had surpassed Paris and become the largest city in Europe. It had many coffee-houses, the forerunners of the modern clubs, where men interested in politics and letters came together to discuss the questions of the day. In 1702 the first daily newspaper; *The Daily Courant*, appeared. It supplied a real want, and by 1709 there were no fewer than eighteen newspapers in London. The news thus

furnished was meagre enough, compared with the contents of the modern newspaper. The style of writing, however, has never been surpassed. The names which give distinction to the press are those of Joseph Addison (1672-1719) and Richard Steele (1672-1729). Steele seems to have had the more original mind. In 1709 he founded *The Tatler*. It soon came to an end, and then, in 1711, he founded *The Spectator*, with Addison as his chief assistant. For a time it was issued daily. Every Friday Addison published a literary essay, and on Saturday one that touched the grave topics of religion. With Addison English prose reached something like perfection. His light, easy, and graceful style, his fine and kindly humour, made his most serious writing popular at London tea-tables and coffee-houses. He set before himself the definite purpose "to banish vice and ignorance out of the territories of Great Britain." Such an aim places Addison in marked contrast with writers of the Cavalier party under Charles II. To the polite world of that age, Puritan strictness was linked with vulgar cant. The lay sermons of Addison showed, however, not only sound morality, but elegance and good breeding, and he helped in the task of giving better ideals to the world of fashion.

Swift and Defoe.—The bitter strife between Whig and Tory led to political writing of a high order. The foremost champion of the Tories was Jonathan Swift (1667-1745). He was a clergyman, who became, in 1713, Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, but his chief fame is due to political writings full of arrogance and hatred and little in accord with his clerical character. His political pamphlets were masterly in style but ferocious in spirit. He satirized religious shams in his *Tale of a Tub*. *Gulliver's Travels*, which appeared when the Whigs ruled England under a Hanoverian king, is full of bitter mockery at mankind. There is no elegance in Swift, but he made irony a new weapon in English prose. The chief writer on the side opposed to Swift was Daniel Defoe (1661?-1731), who

is now best known as the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, perhaps the most popular story ever written. Defoe is more, however, than the earliest writer of tales of adventure. His most serious labours were devoted to politics, and he wrote for a host of newspapers in a style perfectly suited to his end. English, as a medium of scornful attack, shows its greatest power in the writings of Swift and Defoe.

Alexander Pope.—In this age of prose there were not wanting poets who became widely popular. Chief amongst them is Alexander Pope (1688-1744), already famous in the reign of Anne and surviving to a much later period. Like his master, Dryden, he wrote in obedience to formal rules. The rhymed couplet was still the model for all who aspired to be poets. Pope translated Homer into rhymed couplets, and in this measure he wrote his *Essay on Man* and that bitter satire, *The Dunciad*. He is too purely intellectual to be a great poet, and has too little of the quality which inspires true poetry—deep, sincere, and natural feeling. It is an age, not of poetry, but of the clear, lucid prose which, henceforth, is one of the chief factors in educating the English people.

CHAPTER XV

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER

1. THE RULE OF WALPOLE AS PRIME MINISTER

The Whig Triumph.—George I, like William III, was a foreigner in England, and as such was distrusted and disliked by many of the English. The Tories would have preferred a Stuart, and had Anne lived six months longer, they would probably have changed the Act of Settlement so as to bring in a king of that line. This George well understood, and even before he set foot in England, he dismissed from office Anne's Tory ministry and installed the Whigs in their place. An election soon gave the Whigs a great majority in the Commons. Bolingbroke, the Tory leader, espoused the cause of the Stuart Pretender, James Edward, the supposed changeling son of James II, and quickly fled to join him on the continent. Oxford was arrested on suspicion of similar treason to George I, but was, in the end, acquitted. The Tory squires and parsons greatly disliked the foreign king. But they kept quiet for two reasons: the Pretender would give no guarantees to protect the Church of England; and espousal of his cause meant that most dreaded of scourges, civil war. To check threatened risings, the Parliament passed, in 1715, the Riot Act, giving magistrates power to use the military against gatherings of twelve persons or more who should refuse to disperse within an hour after being warned to do so.

The Jacobite Rising, 1715-1716.—In spite of such precautions a rising occurred. George's claim to the throne was promptly challenged by James Edward. In 1715 this prince sent the Earl of Mar to Scotland, and there and in the north of England a rebellion broke out. Mar gathered

an army of Highlanders, who proved themselves once more pathetically loyal to the Stuarts. Edinburgh was for a time in danger. But the Whig leader in Scotland, Argyle, grandson of the Argyle who had perished in Monmouth's lost cause, was a real general. In November, 1715, with three thousand men, he checked, at Sheriffmuir, Mar's army of eight thousand Highlanders, whose wild charge this time failed. The rising in England was easily crushed. Expected aid did not come from France; for Louis XIV, the loyal friend of the Stuarts, had died in 1715. In spite of such discouragements, James Edward himself landed in Scotland early in 1716, but, though a high-minded man, he was dull and headstrong, and he aroused no enthusiasm. In the end he and Mar escaped with great difficulty. About forty of their followers perished on the scaffold. It was already clear that the Stuart cause had ceased to stir deeply either England or Scotland. Tory squires might drink toasts to the absent king over the water, but they were not ready to risk much in his cause.

The Septennial Bill, 1716.—In the excited state of the public mind, the Whigs feared the effects on their fortunes of an election, which, under the Triennial Bill, could not long be postponed. Accordingly, in 1716 they passed through both Houses the Septennial Act, which made seven, not three years, the limit of the term for a Parliament. It was a high-handed proceeding for a Parliament, chosen for three years, to prolong its own life to seven, but by this step the nation secured a period of quiet much needed after the recent turmoil. At first the enemies of George I said that he sat on a rocking-horse and not on a throne, but after seven years his right was so secure that even the Tories did not wish to incur the risk of a change.

The Prime Minister and the Cabinet.—Under the new king the royal power met with still further restriction. George I was not clever, but he was manly, brave, and truthful, and did not deserve the calumny heaped upon him by his Tory critics. Though in Hanover he had ruled

as a despot, in England he was content to be a constitutional king. It is amazing that, having long known his prospects of ruling England, he should not have learned English, but he could speak hardly a word of that tongue and was obliged to use Latin when he conversed with his ministers. Naturally, for George to sit at a cabinet council, when he understood no word of what was said, would have



GEORGE I

been absurd. He absented himself, and the cabinet, having reached decisions, submitted them to him afterwards. Since the king was absent from their meetings, they required another leader with some authority. This leader, who was, of course, one of their number, came to be known as the prime minister, and in time it is he, not the king, who exercises real power. In 1707 Anne had placed her veto on a measure that had passed both Houses of Parliament; but this George I never ventured to

do; and the ruler thus lost any control over legislation. He could still dismiss ministers; he still kept in his own hands the control of foreign affairs; it was still necessary to consult him on all state business; but the real directing power now passed out of the sovereign's hands into those of the prime minister.

New Commercial Interests.—With George I securely on the throne, Britain faced new problems. After a century and a half of bitter strife about religion, the nation had grown weary of such disputes. By 1719 the Whigs were able to repeal the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts, and thus to take a step forward in a policy of toleration. The vital interest of the age was in commerce, and colonies across the sea attracted attention because they promised

an extension of trade. It was chiefly hope of wider trade which had led Scotland to end her separate history and to unite with England. We are astonished to find that even the old enmity with Roman Catholic France was now forgotten for a time, and that in 1717 Britain actually made an alliance with that country to check the designs of Spain. An able minister, Alberoni, inspired Spain at this time with new vigour. She refused to carry out the terms of the Assiento Treaty, by which Britain had a monopoly of the trade in negroes with the Spanish colonies and the right to send one trading ship each year to Panama. War broke out in 1718, but the most momentous thing for Britain about the war was its ending. By a treaty made in 1720, Spain agreed to carry out the terms of the Assiento Treaty, and the British had a new opening for trade.

The South Sea Bubble, 1720-1721.—This prospect led to an amazing excitement. The English, so often described as unemotional, are, in truth, quickly moved to excitement, as the recent outbreak in regard to the "Popish Plot," and the trial of the seven bishops, and of Dr. Sacheverell, had shown. These were about religion; the new outburst shows the changed spirit of the people, since it was about trade. For some reason it was believed that the treaty with Spain opened the door to boundless wealth, and now a fever of speculation seized the nation. When we remember that all the trade which the treaty allowed was the sending of negroes to the Spanish colonies and the cargo of one ship of six hundred tons to Panama each year, we can see that the outlook was not really dazzling. It was expected, however, that a contraband trade, going far beyond the terms of the treaty, could be carried on. When the treaty was first under discussion, the South Sea Company had been formed to carry on the trade, and it was ready to pay a staggering price for a monopoly. There was hardly a limit to the number of shares for which the public was prepared to subscribe. The Company planned operations on a stupendous scale. The government had a large

floating debt, and the Company actually agreed to take over this debt at a much lower rate of interest than was being paid to the existing holders, and, in addition, to pay the government a premium of seven and a half million pounds for the monopoly of the South Sea trade. The bargain meant ruin to the Company. But this the public would not see. Land-owners, clergymen, widows, sold everything to buy South Sea stock, which went up to a premium of one thousand per cent. Whispers of what the government aimed to do increased the fever to grow rich. Britain, it was said, would exchange such possessions as Gibraltar for rich gold mines in Peru, to be controlled by the Company. During the madness other companies were easily floated to carry out wild projects. There was a whole sea of bubbles. The directors of the South Sea Company lost their heads and promised impossible dividends. Inevitably they proved unable to pay the great premium offered to the government. When in the end this truth became apparent, the price of South Sea stock fell rapidly, and thousands were ruined.

Sir Robert Walpole, Prime Minister, 1721-1742.—The South Sea Bubble did some good. It enabled the nation to place its floating debt at a low rate of interest; above all, it brought to the front Sir Robert Walpole. He had held high office under Anne, had fought the Tories at the time of the succession of George I, and had then been George's chief minister for a time. He and his Whig friends, however, had quarrelled among themselves, and some of those afterwards discredited by their share in the South Sea Bubble had combined, in 1717, to drive him from office. His day had now come. Every one who had promoted the South Sea Bubble was suspected. Serious charges were brought against members of the government. Some retired disgraced; others took lower posts. Walpole was the one strong man whom the nation could trust in such a crisis, and the king called upon him to take charge of the finances. He was a jovial English squire, coarse in speech, but

alert, sensible, and faithful in discharging his public duties. He reorganized the South Sea Company, leaving it still a gigantic corporation. The shareholders secured one share in the new Company for three in the old, the government guaranteed dividends on half the stock, and, with something short of utter ruin, the crisis passed.



SIR ROBERT WALPOLE,
EARL OF ORFORD (1676-1745)

The Party System.—Walpole's sway lasted for more than twenty years. Many obstacles impeded his work as leader. The law knew, and still knows, no such office as that of prime minister, and a great many objected to the title, as giving the impression that the king had been brushed aside. Walpole had to manage

both king and Parliament. The king still possessed real power, and Walpole must retain his support. He needed always, too, a majority in the House of Commons. This he retained by rewarding his friends and punishing his enemies. He was shrewd and capable, and he would tolerate no rivals in power. Every favour in the gift of the government, every post, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, which he could control, went to his own political friends. Those who opposed him received short shrift; even officers in the army were dismissed. About a hundred members of the House of Commons held office under the government. Let one of them dare to vote against Walpole and he lost his place. For good or ill, it was Walpole who forged the weapon of a compact political party, held together by strict discipline, under a strong leader, to carry on the government. It is the party system as we know it still. Eighty years of civil war and religious strife had left England without a workable system of government, and it was now a statesman's task to evolve one. Walpole did it.

Walpole's Methods.—The chief aims of Walpole were, as he said, to let sleeping dogs lie; to leave alone troublesome issues, such as those concerned with religion; to attempt no great changes; to keep out of war; and to promote the landed and commercial interests. He was cautious and far-seeing, and his industry was amazing; he wrote most of his letters, and even copied long papers, with his own hand. With coarse quips and jests he faced the rough issues of party warfare and was ready to take reverses cheerfully enough. He had some refined tastes; he made a great collection of pictures; but, for the rest, he was like any other rollicking squire of the time, who loved his country and was ready, in his own way, to do what he could to serve her. To retain a majority in the Commons, Walpole, it is said, practised shameless bribery. Yet after his fall a hostile committee of Parliament made a rigid scrutiny of his conduct, and only two proven instances of bribery are known. Walpole once pointed to a group of men opposing him and said contemptuously: "All these have their price"; and the report went about that he had said every one could be bribed. No one knew better than he that, even with the low moral tone of the age, this was not true. He was not scrupulous. "He durst do right," his son, Horace Walpole, said of him, "but he durst do wrong too." Under him methods in politics became more than ever like the business of war, in which the main thing is to outwit the enemy and to strike hard blows.

Long Peace Under Walpole.—When England settled down under Walpole, she passed through uneventful years of prosperous trade and money-making. He gloried in keeping free from war. "Madam," he once said to the queen, "there are fifty thousand men slain this year in Europe, and not one Englishman." He would make no alliances that might drive Britain into war. "My policies," he said at the beginning of his ministry, "are to keep clear of all engagements."

From the first Walpole understood that political power must centre in the House of Commons. In 1719 his Whig friends, who saw an election coming and feared a Tory majority in the Commons, had tried to make the House of Lords a bulwark of Whig influence. They had proposed a Peerage Bill, by which the number of peers was to be limited; the king was to have the power to create a new peer only when an old peerage died out. This proposal would have turned the House of Lords into a small body, over whom neither king nor Commons could exercise effective control. Walpole fought the measure and defeated it, and thus made sure that, when need arose, the House of Commons could induce the king to create new peers. In this way the Lords could be brought to accept the measures of the popular chamber. The Reform Bill of 1832 and the Parliament Bill of 1911 were, in the end, accepted by the Lords, because of the threatened use of this power.

George II, 1727-1760.—George I died suddenly in 1727, and for a time it seemed that the career of Walpole was ended. The new king, George II, who had quarrelled bitterly with his father, wished to get rid of his father's servant. But no one could control the Whig majority in the Commons as well as Walpole, and George II was soon content that Walpole should remain prime minister. George II, like his father, had many good qualities. He was a man of honour, loyal to his friends, cautious, sober, and methodical. But his mind was narrow, and his vanity ridiculous. George's wife, Caroline of Anspach, was a remarkable woman. In 1720 Walpole had helped her to make money out of the South Sea craze. The two remained fast friends, and together they were able to manage George II. Frederick William, king of Prussia, called George a comedian, and this quality appears in his everlasting posing and bluster. "Snappings and snubbings" were the staple of his talk with his queen; he would call her a fool to her face, and denounce her friends as scoundrels,

puppies, or imbeciles; yet he spent seven or eight hours daily in her society, wrote her interminable letters when-



GEORGE II

ever they were separated, and was broken-hearted when she died in 1737. She never appeared to differ from him, but quietly suggested ideas, knowing that George would adopt them as his own. He would sneer at kings who had been ruled by wives or favourites, and ask with absurd complacency who it was that governed him. Most men understood very well that it was Caroline of Anspach; when Walpole persuaded her, he had really persuaded the king.

The Excise Bill, 1733.—Walpole tried to make but one great reform. The chief burden of taxation was on the land, and the squires grumbled at having to pay as much as two shillings in the pound. Walpole tried to relieve them by revising the taxes paid by the traders. He found that the customs duties were evaded through smuggling conducted on a vast scale. Two of the articles smuggled most extensively were tobacco and wine. In 1733, therefore, Walpole proposed a new plan. No duties should be charged on tobacco and wine. Instead, they should come in free and be stored in warehouses. Only when taken out for use in Britain would a heavy tax—called an excise—be charged. If sent out of the country, they would not be taxed, and this free import and export would make London, Walpole believed, the market of the world. His plan was wise, and his proposals have now become the basis of Britain's finance. But the merchants took alarm. Walpole had once said, in his rough way, that while the squires bore heavy taxes in silence, the trading interest resembled a hog, which, if touched, would squeal so loudly as to alarm

the neighbourhood. He now found how true were these words. Amid intense excitement, his opponents told the people that Walpole would not be content with an excise tax on every bottle of wine and package of tobacco, but would put a similar tax upon clothing, food, and all other necessities, and that an army of excise men would invade every household, to see that the tax was paid. There were processions and petitions against the measure; even the army threatened revolt, rather than pay the excise on tobacco. With keen regret, therefore, Walpole abandoned a plan that might have caused bloodshed. He took his revenge by dismissing office-holders who had opposed him. No other great reform did he try to introduce.

2. THE BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE WITH FRANCE FOR EMPIRE

The Dispute with Spain over the "Right of Search."—While Walpole was striving to maintain peace, the forces making for war were strong. The South Sea Company carried on with Spanish America a great trade, which went far beyond the treaty rights. In order to check unlawful trade, Spain claimed the "right of search" over foreign ships which sailed to her colonies and which might be carrying forbidden goods. It is true that the British asserted similar rights. It was claimed, however, that the Spanish coast-guards in America treated British crews with uncalled-for brutality. When the British retaliated, an angry temper developed on both sides. A certain Captain Jenkins told Parliament that his ship had been illegally stopped at sea by Spanish coast-guards, who tore off his ear and threw it in his face with the taunt that he might take it to his king, carried away his nautical instruments, and left him to get home as best he could. He was asked what had been his thoughts when helpless in Spanish hands, and replied in a well-studied phrase: "I committed my soul to God and my cause to my country." At a later time Burke called the whole tale a fable, and it is

said that after the man's death he was found not to have lost an ear. But the story of Jenkins's ear seized the imagination of a warlike people, who now believed that hundreds of Englishmen were rotting in Spanish prisons. On the other hand, the Spanish told a story that British seamen had seized a Spanish nobleman and cut off his nose and made him eat it. There was talk of reviving the great days of Elizabeth and humbling Spanish pride anew. Religious passion against Roman Catholic Spain was not absent. The opposition in the Commons clamoured for war, among them a certain fiery young orator, William Pitt, of whom we shall soon hear more.

War with Spain, 1739, and Fall of Walpole, 1742.—Walpole hated the thought of war. Rather than declare war, he should have resigned. But he clung to office. In 1739, when war was declared, the bells rang to celebrate the great event, but the prime minister said bitterly: "They are ringing their bells; they will soon be wringing their hands." Reverses came speedily. Captain Vernon was sent to attack the coast of Spanish America. There was intense excitement in England when he took the Spanish stronghold of Portobello in 1739, but a little later he failed disastrously before Cartagena, near Panama. Commodore Anson set out to attack Spain on the Pacific. Though the passage was stormy and some of his ships had to turn back, he sailed round Cape Horn and reaped a rich booty. But of this England was ignorant, for he crossed the Pacific, and as he was not heard of for nearly four years, the British thought that he was lost, and that adventure in the Pacific had been even more disastrous than it was in the Atlantic. Walpole was blamed for the unsuccessful war. An election in 1741 proved unfavourable, and in February, 1742, he was forced to resign. He had retained power by bribery, and bribery helped to drive him out. George II parted from his minister with genuine regret. Walpole became Earl of Orford and never again took office.

The War of the Austrian Succession, 1741-1748.—The

contest, begun in 1739 in the form of a war with Spain, broadened out into a general European war. In 1740 Maria Teresa succeeded to the dominions of Austria, over which a woman had never before ruled. The young Frederick II, known better as Frederick the Great, king of Prussia, took advantage of her first difficulties, by raking up an old claim to the Austrian province of Silesia, and by marching his troops into that country, in 1740, in open defiance of the claims of Maria Teresa. France and Spain, both ruled by Bourbon kings, had now made an alliance known as the Family Compact, and they joined in the attack upon her. Some powers came to her assistance, and thus a good part of Europe became involved in this War of the Austrian Succession. George II, as Elector of Hanover, allied himself with Maria Teresa. Priding himself on being a soldier, he led the allied army in person and did it well. In June, 1743, he won a victory over the French at Dettingen. But reverses and dangers were soon to follow. Britain and France, already virtually at war through their allies, declared formal war in 1744. In the following year the French won a victory at Fontenoy, and this encouraged an attack on George II nearer home.

The Second Jacobite Rising, 1745-1746.—James Edward, son of the deposed James II, still lived, and his son, Charles Edward, now undertook to regain for the Stuarts the British throne. Like most political exiles, he had no real idea of the opinion of the home country. By the mass of the people the Stuarts were, in truth, wellnigh forgotten. Yet Charles believed in a wide-spread devotion to his line and a real eagerness for its restoration. The young prince was obstinate and rash. When friends tried to persuade him that it was folly to attack George without support from a French army, he declared that he would go even if he went alone. The battle of Fontenoy gave him new encouragement, and in August, 1745, the Stuart prince landed in the Hebrides with half-a-dozen followers. It was the first time that his foot had touched Scottish soil.

His reception at first was cold, but a good many Highlanders obeyed his summons, some of them armed only with pitchforks and with scythes mounted on poles. While nearly all were filled with misgivings, they remained loyal to their prince.



PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD (1720-1788)

The Stuart Cause Defeated at Culloden, 1746.

—Wonderful to relate, “Bonnie Prince Charlie” was soon in possession of the city of Edinburgh, though the castle towering above the city still held out. Near

Edinburgh he met George II's general, Cope, at Prestonpans, and swept away the English army by a charge of his Highlanders. Counting on the supposed devotion of England to his House, he advanced southward as far as Derby. A few English joined his force, and their support gave him confidence. The government, too, was greatly alarmed, for nearly all its regular troops were absent on the continent. At the news of his advance London was stricken with panic. To prevent a sudden run on the bank, it is said that payment of cheques was made slowly, in sixpences. Even King George II prepared to fly. Yet there was never serious danger that the English people would support Charles Edward. He was already planning the details of his entry into London, when his officers told him that his only safety lay in turning back; England had really held aloof and given him no welcome. Bitterly disappointed he retired. Adequate forces were now gathering to crush him. His Highlanders won, indeed, a second

victory at Falkirk, early in 1746, but the odds against him were now overwhelming. The last stand for the Stuarts was made at Culloden, where Charles's little force was greatly outnumbered by the trained army of George II's son, the Duke of Cumberland. This time the Highland charge failed. No quarter was given after the battle; the wounded and helpless were killed in cold blood, and the epithet "Butcher" clung to Cumberland for the rest of his life. Almost by a miracle Charles escaped to the continent, where for some forty years he lived a dissipated life, a broken-down man. The Stuart cause was dead. The Highlanders were disarmed and forbidden even to wear the kilts, and the Highland chiefs lost the old authority over their people which the law had recognized. A few leaders of the revolt were executed.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.—The war in Europe went on until 1748. Before it ended one thing had become clear. In spite of Britain's efforts to build up trade with Spanish America, Spain and Portugal controlled those regions, and in them Britain could gain no footing. In North America and in India, on the other hand, she had a footing. There she and France were rivals. During the war the New England colonists, certain that the French fortress of Louisbourg, on the island of Cape Breton, would be a continual menace to their trade, attacked and captured it, with some aid from a British fleet. This was in 1745. In the next year, in the far East, the British met with a reverse that balanced the success of Louisbourg; the French took Madras, an important British trading-post in India. Each side had checked the other. At last, in 1748, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed. The chief provision of the treaty was that conquests made during the war were to be given up. This step aroused the wrath of the New England colonists, who, having spent blood and treasure in taking Louisbourg, did not relish seeing that menace to their trade pass once more into the hands of the French enemy. Such a peace meant only a pause in the war.

3. THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

The Rivalry of France and Britain for World-power.

—For years France and Britain had been taking positions as rivals, not merely in Europe, but also in America and in Asia. During two centuries Spain had stood before the world as a mighty power in America and the East, checking the efforts of lesser states, such as England and Holland. But Spain's power had now declined. In the vast continent of North America, England and France each had colonies, and each was resolved to oust the other. In India weak native rule made an opening for a power with disciplined forces to control the destinies of millions of people. As yet but slight thought was given to Africa. But the prizes of North America and India were there to be seized by a strong power, and for them France and Britain now engaged in a final struggle.

In every great war in Europe since England had expelled the Stuarts in 1689, France and England were, in the long run, always lined up on opposing sides. William III had brought England into a Grand Alliance against the designs of Louis XIV of France. Later Marlborough had held together wrangling allies, with the same end in view. When Louis XIV dominated Spain, England had taken, in 1704, the Spanish fortress of Gibraltar—evidence that, even in Europe, Louis XIV could not save his ally from the humiliation of ceding to England a precious bit of territory, which still remains British. The Peace of Utrecht in 1713 had shown that Britain's power was gaining on that of France, for, among other things, France then yielded any claim to Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson Bay. This, however, made her only the more anxious to recover what she had lost. She was soon busily active again in both North America and India. Walpole managed to keep the peace for a quarter of a century. Then when war came, it was at first with weak Spain and not with powerful France. But in the end France stood

as Britain's chief foe, and again not only in Europe, but also in America and India, the rivals struggled for world-power. It did not matter that, in 1748, each renounced any gains made during the war. The old rivalry remained unabated, and peace had hardly been signed when forces were gathering for the struggle destined to prove final.

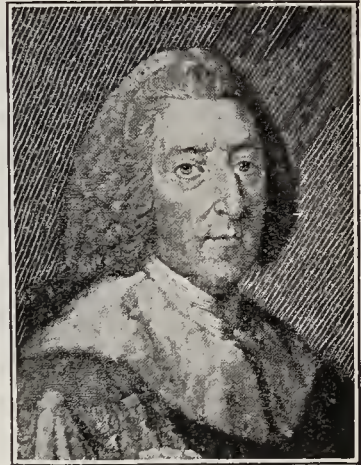
The British Alliance with Prussia.—Many months before war definitely began, the impatient rivals were already fighting in America and India. The reason of the delay in springing at each other in Europe was that each was seeking allies. In this respect Britain proved more fortunate than France. While France made an alliance with Austria and Russia, Britain was joined by Prussia. The king of Prussia, Frederick the Great, was the ablest soldier of his time. In the end he proved so formidable that he checked the three great powers now allied against him—France, Austria, and Russia. Austria had no striking leader, and France, warring on the sea with her maritime neighbour Britain, was obliged at the same time to aid on land Austria, confronted by the great soldier of Prussia. To her sons fighting in America and India, France could send little aid. It was, in truth, the military power in Europe of Prussia which held the energies of France and enabled Britain to acquire a new empire in America and Asia.

The War in Europe.—War was formally declared in 1756, and at first it went badly for Britain. Her politics were corrupt. Whigs and Tories were rivals for the political power which meant places and pensions for their friends. After war broke out, successive disasters maddened the nation. The Whigs had been too long in office, and were now greedy and selfish. In the army the officers were appointed on account of their rank or influence, scarcely ever for efficiency. Even the navy, the nation's pride and chief defence, seemed to fail in the hour of trial. Ever since 1708 the British had held the island of Minorca. In 1756, when the French besieged it, Admiral

Byng was sent with a fleet to its relief. Checked by the French fleet in a slight engagement, he sailed away, leaving Minorca to its fate. When it fell, there was a fiery outburst of anger in England. Byng was sent home under arrest and was brought to trial for cowardice and neglect of duty. He was no coward, and that charge was not pressed. But he had been guilty of criminal neglect, and for this, as the law stood, the penalty was death. The execution of Byng in 1757 was a sharp reminder of what the nation expected of its guardians. In the same year the Duke of Cumberland, son of George II, met disastrous defeat in Germany, and was forced to sign the Convention of Klosterzeven, which left the king's beloved Hanover in possession of the enemy. The nation needed a man whom it could trust and who had the capacity to lead, and at last it found him in William Pitt.

Pitt, the Great Commoner.—The nation trusted Pitt because his career showed that he scorned self-seeking, then the dominant note in politics. He was by instinct a soldier, and throughout his career understood better the problems of war than those of domestic reform. He had been a cornet in the cavalry at eighteen, but soon left the army and took up politics. Then began a career which was to make him the most powerful man of his time. He had the gifts of the great orator—a graceful and commanding figure, a fiery eye, a flexible voice, a ready flow of vivid language. In 1746, when he took office as paymaster of the forces, he faced two recognized customs. One was that the paymaster should take for himself the interest allowed by the bank on the large balance at his credit. The other was that the paymaster should be paid one-half of one per cent on all subsidies to foreign allies. As Prussia alone received eight hundred thousand pounds in a single year, this commission was a rich prize. Pitt was a poor man, but, ending a long usage, he refused to take a penny of these sums, and the nation was both astounded and delighted at his unselfish integrity. He became known as

"the great Commoner," the man whom the nation gave to the king, in reversal of the old method by which the king gave the leader to the nation. And now, in the hour of need, his strength lay in his frank appeal to the nation's higher motives. He loved his country with an unselfish love, and no vice stained his own life—rare qualities in the leaders of that age. The effect of his speeches was amazing; unworthy men quailed before his fierce vehemence; he could sway even a corrupt House of Commons. Pitt had a sublime arrogance. "I know," he said at this time, "that I can save this nation, and that nobody else can."



WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF
CHATHAM (1708-1778)

The Duke of Newcastle, a fussy man, in personal character quite honest, but delighting in the sordid details of political wire-pulling, was the prime minister under whom Britain had drifted into war.

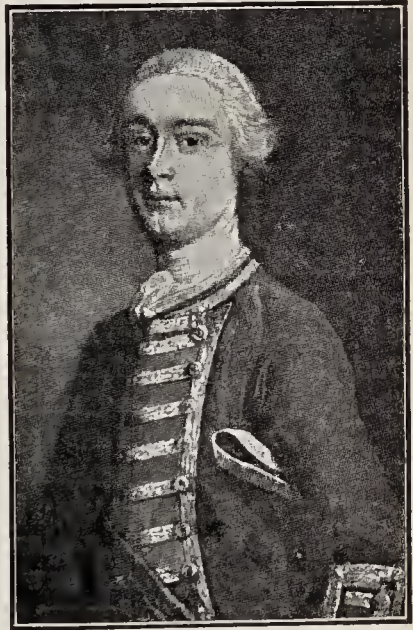
When a London mob was clamouring for Byng's life in 1756, Newcastle, afraid before the rising wrath of the nation, resigned. But he was strong in the House of Commons, which he knew how to bribe, and in the end he came back to power with this change, that, while he was to be prime minister and to do his favourite work of looking after the office-seekers, Pitt was to be secretary for war and to direct the military operations which were now world-wide in their range. The plan pleased the people, who had entire confidence in Pitt, and under his leadership a new and glorious era dawned for Britain.

The War in America.—In North America France held Canada on the St. Lawrence and Louisiana at the mouth of the Mississippi; and her plan was to occupy all the

intervening territory, and thus to master the continent. Along the Atlantic coast stretched a line of English colonies, most of which had prospered greatly. There were at least a million and a quarter of English in America, and they outnumbered the French by at least twenty to one. But their colonies were divided and jealous of one another, while those of France were under one control. Even though New France contained no more than sixty thousand Europeans, these were skilful in frontier warfare and could keep up a long fight. France's aim was to extend a line of forts from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi, to occupy the territory in the rear of the English colonies, to shut them in along a narrow sea-board on the Atlantic, and, in the end, to overwhelm them. George Washington, a young militia officer destined to attain to world-wide fame, was sent, in 1754, by the governor of the colony of Virginia, to check the advance of a French force sent from Canada to occupy the valley of the Ohio. Near the site of the present great city of Pittsburgh, he engaged a superior force of Frenchmen in a hot skirmish, but he was defeated and forced to retire to Virginia. The British government now sent out to Virginia an army commanded by General Braddock. This general, advancing in 1755 against Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio River, was attacked by the French and their Indian allies concealed in the forest, and was slain, with a considerable number of his followers. Again Washington, who accompanied Braddock, had to lead a shattered force back to Virginia. In Nova Scotia, too, the English and the French were engaged in disputes over the question of frontiers. The British, in 1755, the year before war was declared, put on shipboard and scattered to other lands some thousands of French Acadian settlers in Nova Scotia, whose loyalty had long been suspected. There was war in America long before it was formally declared in Europe.

The Fall of Canada, 1760.—When Pitt came to power in 1757, he had a fiery resolve to humble France and to add

her overseas possessions to the British Empire. He is the first great British imperialist of modern times, and it is due to his astounding energy in directing the war that Canada is to-day British. He chose his officers for their efficiency, not for their family influence. To attack the French in Canada he sent two promising generals, Amherst and Wolfe. Hitherto, Montcalm, the French general, had held the British in check, but now the tide turned. In 1758 Amherst, with Wolfe as second in command, took Louisbourg, in the island of Cape Breton. To the joy of New England that stronghold was soon destroyed, and it lies in ruins to this day. In 1759 Wolfe was sent up the St. Lawrence with the difficult task before him of taking Quebec. The high cliffs along the river above Quebec seemed impregnable, and Montcalm's army lined the shore below the fortress and made a landing impossible. But the army under



JAMES WOLFE (1727-1759)

Wolfe and the fleet commanded by Admiral Saunders made a formidable combination. On a dark September night, while Saunders kept Montcalm on the watch by a vigorous cannonading from his ships, Wolfe managed to lead his force up a steep path above Quebec. He surprised the feeble guard at the top and arrayed an army of four thousand men on the Plains of Abraham. So weak were the walls of Quebec that Montcalm did not fight behind them, but met Wolfe on the open plain. Few as were those engaged, it was a battle of world-wide import, for it decided

the fate of France in North America. Montcalm was defeated and killed; the victor, Wolfe, was also struck down when not yet thirty-three years old. A few days later Quebec surrendered, and the end was near. In 1760 the French laid down their arms at Montreal and yielded Canada to Britain.

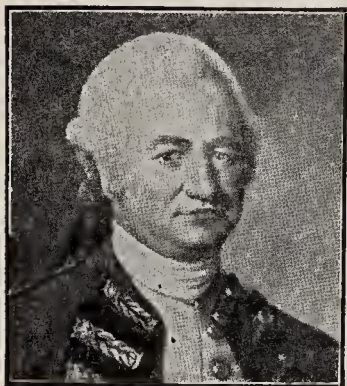
The War in India.—In India there was the same record of disaster at first, and of brilliant success in the end. Ever since 1600, when the East India Company was founded, the English had carried on trade in India. In time they had become masters of three centres, Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, where they established warehouses protected by forts. They held no other territory in India and desired none; the East India Company, with a monopoly of the British trade, wished merely to extend its operations. But other nations—the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French—were in the field as rivals for this trade. The Portuguese had been first in the country and had excluded all other traders; but after 1580, when Spain annexed Portugal, Spain's enemies, England and Holland, attacked her in the East and began to trade on their own account. In these commercial operations the Dutch long had the advantage, but in time they were forced by the English to confine their operations to the islands of the Indian Archipelago. The Portuguese were now independent again, but were weak and could no longer compete seriously with Britain. Her chief rival was neither Holland nor Portugal, but France.

The Designs of Dupleix.—The French had political ambitions. Their design was to build up a great empire in India. That country was held together very loosely under an emperor at Delhi, known as the Great Mogul, or Mongol, the descendant of a line of Moslem conquerors of India. By 1700 the rule of this emperor had become so weak that many states supposed to be under his sway were really independent. Defined frontiers hardly existed; brigandage and violence prevailed everywhere. It is esti-

mated that not fewer than two million armed men were ready to sell their services to any capable leader who could pay them. Dupleix, the able governor of the French post at Pondicherry, saw that native troops were powerless before the superior organization of the Europeans. The helpless people were accustomed to the alien and harsh rule of the Mongol conqueror. Why, Dupleix asked, should not France displace him, and herself take the leading place in India? Dupleix took steps to prove that France, not Britain, was fitted to perform such a task. After the French took Madras in 1746, he paraded the captive British garrison in triumph before the natives. It was a blow to British prestige. To the natives the French seemed the strong military power and the British poor-spirited traders.

The Career of Clive.—The success of the plan of Dupleix would mean the ruin of British trade in India, and, of course, the British would not give way without a great struggle. Thus the Treaty of Aix-la Chapelle, made in 1748, secured no real peace between the French and the English in India. An extraordinary Englishman now forged to the front. Robert Clive was the son of an English squire who had sunk into poverty. Clive went out to India, in 1744, as an obscure clerk in the office of the East India Company. At Madras he was friendless and despondent, and at one time tried to take his own life. His nature was absolutely fearless. Once he accused an officer of cheating at cards, and a duel followed. Clive missed his antagonist, who then came near, put his pistol to Clive's head, and told him to ask for his life. Clive did so. Then his opponent told him that he must also withdraw the charge of cheating. "I said you cheated, and I say so still," was Clive's answer. His opponent threw down his pistol, saying that Clive was a madman. The clerk soon left his desk to take up the soldier's work, for which he had a supreme genius. Madras had been restored to Britain, but in 1751, at a time of supposed peace, Dupleix prepared again to attack it. Clive read his plan and suddenly

seized Arcot, the capital of one of Dupleix's native allies. In this place Clive had to bear a long siege, but the defence was so heroic that his foes withdrew, and the natives saw that the British might be even better fighters than the



ROBERT, LORD CLIVE
(1725-1774)

French. Not long after this both Dupleix and Clive left India. The French East India Company had not prospered; it had borrowed from the French government not less than £6,000,000, while the English Company was able to lend its government £4,000,000. France was alarmed lest Dupleix should draw her into a great European war, for which she was as yet unprepared; he was,

therefore, disgraced, and he died in poverty. Clive, on the other hand, received a great welcome in England. He was, however, needed in the East, and in 1756 he returned to Madras with the military command and with the promise that he should soon be made governor.

The Black Hole of Calcutta, 1757.—Then came the crisis which led to Britain's empire in India. Surajah Dowlah, the Moslem ruler of Bengal, was a man of vicious and arrogant character. So weak was the rule of the Great Mogul at Delhi that this nabob, or governor of a province, was really an independent sovereign. He found that the British, fearing an attack from the French, were strengthening their fort at Calcutta, and when he demanded the reason and did not get an answer that satisfied him, he seized all the British upon whom he could lay hands and gave a careless order that they should be confined in a certain prison-room. The room, as it happened, was only eighteen feet long and fourteen wide, and the British numbered one hundred and forty-six, of whom one was a woman. For a long, sweltering day and night they

death, soon after, of Surajah Dowlah, left Clive the real ruler of Bengal. A few years later the emperor at Delhi yielded to the East India Company the right to collect the taxes of Bengal, and in effect to carry on the government. In this way a trading company came to rule a great province more than twice as populous as England itself. The French still fought on, but they could no longer rival the English. Even when Clive had returned to England in 1760, Eyre Coote was able to inflict a crushing defeat on the French at Wandewash. Pondicherry surrendered soon after. Dupleix's dream of a great French Indian empire had ended in complete disaster. Not by accident did Britain win the victory. Her fleet now swept the seas. When, off Quiberon Bay, in France, Hawke won, in 1759, a great naval victory over the French, he struck a blow which proved effective in both India and America, for henceforth France was powerless to send succour to either region. It was a new lesson in the strength derived from mastery of the sea.

Death of George II, 1760.—In the midst of these great events George II died, having lived to be an old man of seventy-six. He had never loved Pitt, who had once spoken of George's beloved Hanover as a "despicable electorate," for which England was being sacrificed. But the old king had a blunt common sense. "Sire, give me your confidence, and I shall deserve it," Pitt had said on taking office, and George's answer was: "Deserve my confidence and you shall receive it." Experience had taught George that rule in England was vastly different from his despotic sway in a little German state. "Ministers are the king in this country," he once said.

The Retirement of Pitt, 1761.—The new king was resolved to change all this. The successor of George II was his grandson, George III, an untried young man in his twenty-second year. He had been trained by a German mother, who had ever urged him to "be a king" in England, in the same sense in which he was Elector of Hanover, and

he was now resolved to restore personal rule. George prided himself on not being a foreigner. "Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton," he said, and he wished to be popular with the British people as one of themselves. With a king on the throne determined to be master, the sway of the imperious minister soon came to an end. Pitt now intended finally to ruin France and to make Britain the first power in the world. It was a dangerous ambition, sure to cause, in the long run, a union of other powers against her; and we need not, therefore, count as wholly unwise the young king's wish to make peace. When prostrate France delayed in accepting the terms offered to her, Pitt divined the cause; Spain was preparing to join her in the war. He advised an attack upon Spain before she was ready for war. But his counsel was not accepted, and, therefore, in October, 1761, he resigned, after a ministry the most glorious in the annals of Britain. He lived to show that he was more than a leader in war, for in the dark days when strife was brewing with the American Colonies, his eloquence, though all in vain, was on the side of conciliation and peace. There might have been no American Revolution had Pitt continued to direct British policy during the first half dozen years of the reign of George III.

The Peace of Paris, 1763.—Spain's action showed that Pitt was right; she declared war within three months after his fall. But the British conquered, even without Pitt. They captured Havana in Cuba, seized the Philippines, and took great Spanish treasure on the high seas. In spite of all this George III still wished to make peace, and on February 10th, 1763, the Peace of Paris was finally signed. Britain recovered Minorca, the loss of which had caused the execution of Admiral Byng. Spain recovered Havana and the Philippines, but yielded Florida to Britain. France abandoned her dream of empire in North America, and reclaimed only the two little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon off Newfoundland. Canada became British terri-

tory. In India, though France took back the territory she had lost, she agreed no longer to keep up a military establishment there, and left Britain's position impregnable owing to her control of Bengal. Never before had Britain achieved such triumphs. She had won a great colonial empire; she was left without serious rivalry in India. An era of unparalleled prosperity seemed to have begun. Yet her empire was on the verge of disruption, and before her lay half a century of almost continuous war.

CHAPTER XVI

GEORGE III AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

1. THE DESPOTIC RULE OF GEORGE III

The Momentous Events of the Reign.—George III was king for the sixty years from 1760 to 1820—a vital period in history. It saw both the American Revolution and the French Revolution and also a change fundamental in English life, the Industrial Revolution. It was an age not only of social upheaval but also of war. At its beginning Britain was at war with both France and Spain and was striking blows so deadly as to justify Pitt's claim that she was "the terror of the world." By the middle of the period Britain had fought the most disastrous war in her history and lost the American colonies; at its end she had played the chief part in humbling the might of Napoleon, the would-be master of the world. Twice during the period, in the American Revolution and in the war of 1812-14, was Britain at war with her own sons who created the United States. It is a fact unique in history that in this single reign five wars with France were ended by five treaties, professing perpetual peace and amity—in 1763, at Paris, after the long Seven Years' War; in 1783, at Versailles, after the wars of the American Revolution; in 1802, at Amiens, a peace which was only a truce with Napoleon, then winning his first triumphs and resolved to master Europe; in 1814, at Paris, when Napoleon had fallen and was sent to Elba; in 1815, after he had come back and met with final disaster at Waterloo. If during the reign the two great struggles were with the United States and France, it is noteworthy that in all the period, longer than a century, which has since elapsed, Britain has been at peace with both these states.

The Ideals of "The Patriot King."—George III was proud to consider himself the guardian of the well-being of the British nation. He was happy, he said, to toil early and late, if only he could serve his people. He aimed to be "The Patriot King." The phrase is derived from an essay by Bolingbroke, the Tory of Queen Anne's time, who would have brought back the Stuarts, the Whig of a later time, who was yet never trusted by the Whig leaders. Bolingbroke, perhaps in pique at his own failure with each



GEORGE III

party, described the corruption of party rule and especially the ominous power of the wealthy Whig houses. He outlined the role of the patriot king, aloof from party, regarding his rights as a sacred trust, directing the policy of his ministers, and thinking always of the nation's good. We cannot doubt the sincerity of George III in aiming at this ideal. No monarch ever showed firmer resolve in trying to do his

duty. But George III had no ability to rule wisely a great nation. He was ill-educated and chiefly by bishops whose flattery stimulated a temper naturally despotic, and he came to think that all true patriots must agree with him. His mind was narrow and his temper obstinate. Unlike the first two Georges, he was a model of domestic virtues in his private life. His tastes were simple. He loved country life and was an expert in farming. His two predecessors were foreigners, but he was always a typically stubborn Briton. He never stirred out of England and rarely

travelled beyond a few miles from London. So thoroughly was he English that he shared the passions and the prejudices of his people. Though at first unpopular, in time he gained the respect of the masses. More than any previous king, George had to face great dangers. To the foreign foe he showed tenacious courage, which is a national trait in the hour of need. But unyielding stubbornness made his reign disastrous. He refused justice to the American colonies and toleration to the Roman Catholics in Ireland—denials big with misfortune for Britain.

The Designs of George III to Bring in the Tories.—The personal rule at which George III aimed was certain to receive more support from the Tories, the successors of the old Cavalier party, than from the Whigs. In consequence, the young king worked steadily to get a Tory majority in the Commons. It was not, however, easy to defeat the Whigs. They were divided into groups, ready to war on one another for the spoils of office, but ready, also, to unite against the Tories. The Whig, Newcastle, had remained in office even after Pitt had retired, but soon after gave way to the Earl of Bute, who had helped to direct George's studies and had taught him the ideals of the patriot king. Bute found his path thorny. He was a Scot, one of a race whom the English masses still regarded as foreigners. He was, moreover, the king's "favourite," looked upon as his intriguing servant. At first Bute had no seat in Parliament. The young king thought it enough to say that Lord Bute was his friend. When Bute, in 1763, made the treaty with France which gave up so much of what Pitt had won, many believed that he had been bribed by the French king. For all this the London mob clamoured against him. He soon found that the king's support was not enough to keep him in office, and he retired in 1763. "If I had but fifty pounds per annum," he said, "I would retire on bread and water and think it luxury compared with what I suffer." Then Whig group succeeded Whig group in power, and the king was able to proceed steadily with his plans really himself to govern England.

The Bribery of Parliament by George III.—Charles I had tried to govern by divine right and, if need be, in defiance of Parliament. George III, on the other hand, saw that he could make Parliament his servant, and he did so by simply buying a majority. Circumstances favoured his policy. It was a defect of the English system, not corrected until nearly a century later, that the masses of the people had no vote. Some almost deserted villages, “rotten boroughs,” had two members, while important places had none; Cornwall, with its small population, sent five times as many members to Parliament as did Middlesex and London. There were six constituencies with not more than three electors in each. Under these conditions members had little to fear from public opinion, and George could buy support. Bribes were paid by the king almost publicly; the secretary of the treasury acknowledged that in a single morning as much as twenty-five thousand pounds was spent for votes. Two-fifths of the members of the Commons held posts under the government and could be dismissed at the king’s will. By bribery and by the use of patronage George formed a compact party, which he wished to be known as “The King’s Friends”; those who opposed him were the king’s enemies. To buy up the press, George spent thirty thousand pounds during the first two years of his reign. The Whig leaders fought the king’s friends with the same weapons of corruption; a single election in the town of Northampton cost each party thirty thousand pounds. George became master of the art of corruption, doing the work in person. Though in private life he was strict in morals, in politics he was corrupt and vindictive.

The Prosecution of John Wilkes.—Of course, protests were made against George’s policy. John Wilkes, the spendthrift and profligate son of a London distiller, founded, in 1762, a newspaper called *The North Briton*. Its title was adopted in ridicule of Bute, the Scot, or North Briton, and its columns were filled with sarcasm at his expense. Up to this time, in fear of prosecution, the press

had not printed in full the names of persons in authority whom it assailed, but had used only initials. Wilkes, however, adopted the practice of printing names in full. In No. 45 he criticised the king's speech made at the closing of Parliament on April 19th, 1763, and insinuated that in it George III had given countenance to what was not true. Wilkes, who was a member of Parliament, fancied himself, as such, secure from arrest. The government, however, brought a charge of libel for speaking disrespectfully of the king. What was called a "general warrant" was issued, authorizing the seizure of the authors, printers, and publishers of the offending words. A general warrant, which did not give the specific names of the persons accused, was an evil, since under it an official might arrest any one whom he should choose to suspect. No fewer than forty-nine persons were seized in relation to the alleged libel in *The North Briton*. Wilkes was sent to the Tower. Then began a struggle which lasted for years. Chief-justice Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden, before whom the case was tried, supported Wilkes's claim to privilege as a member of Parliament and ordered his release. He decided, too, in vigorous terms, that general warrants, which did not give the names of the offenders, were illegal.

The Expulsion of Wilkes from the Commons.—Wilkes prosecuted the secretary of state for illegal arrest. But the king was bent on showing his power, and in 1764 he caused the bribed House of Commons to expel Wilkes, who was also found guilty, in the ordinary courts, of putting his hand to certain indecent writings, subversive of public morals. He slipped away to France, and when he did not appear for sentence, was declared an outlaw. The king seemed to have triumphed. But in February, 1768, Wilkes, who had been living abroad on a pension paid to him by leading Whigs, returned to England. His appeal to the angry king for pardon was denied, but he boldly stood for Parliament in a general election and was chosen member for Middlesex. Then the House of Commons promptly

expelled him, and he soon found himself in prison under his old sentence of outlawry. Meanwhile, in great public meetings, popular passions had been aroused in favour of Wilkes, a supposed hero in the cause of liberty. When an immense mob attacked the prison to rescue him, five or six persons were killed. Everywhere, in shop windows, before ale-houses, even on trinkets, his portrait appeared. People in the streets were forced to shout for "Wilkes and Liberty."

Leaders who attacked Wilkes were obliged, when he was elected, to illuminate their houses in his honour. The stately Austrian ambassador was dragged from his coach that the mob might chalk on the soles of his boots "45," the number of the libellous issue of *The North Briton*; and Benjamin Franklin observed that number on nearly all the houses which he saw within fifteen miles of London. It was a flaming outburst of that passion for liberty which was soon in America to express itself in the cry of ardent colonial patriotism: "Give me liberty or give me death." The contest has become memorable in literature, since it led to the able but bitter writing in support of Wilkes of an anonymous person who styled himself "Junius." After Wilkes was expelled from the Commons, the voters of Middlesex re-elected him. Then the House, pressed by the king, went beyond its powers and declared him incapable of sitting. When he was elected a third time, the House justified all the protests against tyranny by overruling the verdict of the electors and declaring the rival candidate, Colonel Luttrell, who had received about one-fifth of the votes, to be the elected member. The king closed the session amidst an outbreak of popular fury. Wilkes lost his seat. But London delighted to do him honour and made him successively alderman, sheriff, and lord mayor.

The Results of the Agitation in Regard to Wilkes.—In the end Wilkes gained his point. When, in 1774, he was unanimously elected, he was allowed to take his seat for

Middlesex. In 1782, a new House of Commons even took the humiliating step, on Wilkes's own motion, of rescinding the resolution of 1769, by which he had been declared ineligible for a seat. Permanent results flowed from the Wilkes agitation. The right of a constituency to a free choice in electing a member was vindicated, and the arrogant attempt of the House of Commons to override the verdict of the electors was rebuked. General warrants were declared illegal. The press secured new liberty. It seems strange to us now that in 1771 the House of Commons forbade the publishing of reports of its debates. When the magistrates of London defied this order, the House sent the lord mayor to the Tower. He was, however, released at the end of the session, and, ever since, the press has been free to discuss the proceedings in Parliament. Moreover, a new mode of appeal to public opinion was now inaugurated. Great political meetings, hitherto unknown in England, had been held in support of Wilkes. From London the practice spread all over the country. Never before had the masses been appealed to in this way. The doings of Parliament came under full discussion; popular clubs were formed to oppose the influence of "The King's Friends"; and it was in this agitation that Radicalism was born. The word itself means a going to the root of things, and the Radicals became in time the extreme wing of the Liberal party.

The Gordon Riots, 1780.—The violence of the mob was due partly to its having no other means of exerting influence. Only a few then had the right to vote, while to-day the masses of the people exercise their power by quietly casting their ballots on election day, kept the freer from disorder by the closing of all drinking-places. The same mob which clamoured for "Wilkes and Liberty" was brutally intolerant when its religious prejudices were aroused. It was still the law that a priest saying mass in England should be imprisoned for life, that a Roman Catholic must sell any horses he possessed for five pounds each, if that

sum were offered, and that no Roman Catholic might purchase land. In 1778 Sir George Savile persuaded Parliament to repeal these laws, but the half-mad Lord George Gordon led in a fanatical protest against this step. The London mob took up the religious cry, and in June, 1780, broke out into riot. It destroyed some Roman Catholic chapels; it burned Newgate and many other prisons, and released their inmates; and it destroyed some private houses, among them that of Lord Mansfield with his fine library. All London was in danger; an observer counted thirty-six fires raging at one time. The ministers were in a panic. They feared that the soldiers would join the rioters as, indeed, some of them did. The king, whatever his faults, never knew fear, and his personal efforts restored order. During the disturbances nearly three hundred were killed, and the Gordon Riots long remained a terrible reminder to Londoners of the brutal savagery lying dormant in that city. It was not against the sturdy, courageous, obstinate, and devout monarch, but against his ministers, that the mob was now enraged. Even when most in the wrong, George III henceforth usually had public opinion behind him.

2. THE QUARREL WITH THE ENGLISH COLONIES

The Growth of the American Colonies.—Other things in the first half of the reign of George III fall into the background when compared with the deep meaning of the American Revolution. The English colonies had been growing in importance. They had developed their own type of political life. Most of their people had been born in America and were American, not English, in their tastes and views. Each colony had its own elected Assembly, and the colonists had no thought that they were ruled by any one but themselves. They were, indeed, under certain restrictions, severe if rigorously enforced. Since the days of Cromwell, England had developed a system of laws known as the Navigation Acts, at first aimed chiefly at

Holland, her rival in the carrying trade. Under these no foreign ship might trade with the colonies. Moreover, foreign trade with the colonies was controlled under the revenue laws of Great Britain. Foreign goods going to the colonies must first be landed in Britain, as must also all goods sent from the colonies to foreign countries. In the interests of the trade of the mother-country, the colonies were restricted in their manufactures. They might mine iron ore, but they might not make it into bars or pig-iron. A colony might manufacture beaver hats for its own people, but it might not export them to another colony. Such restrictions were galling, and, if the political tie with the free peoples in the colonies was to endure, great tact and caution were necessary. In the past British statesmen had been wise enough to leave the colonies alone. The Navigation Acts were often disregarded. The colonists professed unbounded loyalty to the mother-country, but it was the loyalty to his parent of the young man who is free to do as he likes, and who quickly resents control or interference. A good many leaders in America were already a little ashamed of being thought mere colonists, and were sensitive about the airs of superiority which people in the home-land sometimes assumed. American pride was often wounded; for in England the practical independence of the colonies was not generally understood. Many regarded them as completely subject to the central government, and did not see why Parliament should not tax Boston exactly as it taxed Bristol.

The Taxes on Account of the Seven Years' War.—Now a question arose affecting the liberty of the colonies, a question with which the narrow-minded and obstinate king was, of all persons, the least fitted to deal. It was right that the colonies should pay for their own defence. This was clear, nor did the colonies deny it. But George III and his ministers resolved to force them to do so. The Seven Years' War had left Britain with a vast debt of one hundred and thirty-two million pounds, incurred largely on

behalf of America. No doubt the British tax-payer derived indirect benefits from this expenditure; the widening of Britain's possessions had enlarged his markets and poured into his country a great stream of wealth. But land-owners saw one thing with perfect clearness—that, to meet the cost of the late war, they were expected to bear the enormous load of a tax of four shillings in the pound. Two shillings had seemed a heavy tax in Walpole's day. Under the additional burden, the temper of the squires became dangerous. The colonies had, however, suffered much by the war. They had raised twenty thousand troops and incurred large debts, while the territory won from France was not placed in any way under their control. It was a delicate task now to make clear to colonies and mother-land alike their exact duty.

The Stamp Act, 1764.—Trouble with the colonies began at the outset of George's reign. Lord George Grenville, who, in 1763, succeeded Bute as prime minister, was a painstaking statesman. He made up his mind that, while the debt incurred should be met by Great Britain, the colonies should henceforth pay the cost of their own defence. It was fitting that prosperous colonies should protect themselves. Philadelphia and Boston were flourishing cities, surpassed by only a few in the mother-country. Grenville had no thought of coercing the colonies against their will and had no doubt that they wished to carry their share of the burden. He made, however, little effort to induce the thirteen colonial legislatures to vote the needed taxes. Since the British Parliament was the supreme authority, it was easier to pass an imperial act; and this he proceeded to do, apparently with no misgivings. Though Parliament had never ventured to tax even Ireland, a conquered country, in 1765 Grenville brought in a bill to tax the colonies. He proposed a stamp tax, because it could be collected cheaply and easily. The British government was to issue stamps, and henceforth such papers as promissory notes, bills, bonds, leases, and insurance policies in the colonies were to

be valid only when stamped. Newspapers, too, must pay a stamp duty. The stamps were to be sold at government offices in the chief colonial centres.

The Repeal of the Stamp Act, 1766.—Grenville's bill excited but languid interest in England and passed unopposed in an almost empty House. But unwittingly he had done what the colonies were intensely resolved to resist. Without doubt the British Parliament might legally tax America. Legally it might now enact laws respecting the great states of Canada and Australia, without their consent. But, since the colonies had long been self-governing, the British Parliament had no constitutional or moral right to tax them. The leaders in the colonies were well instructed in political thought, and to them the supreme test of their liberty lay in the exclusive right to tax themselves. This the ruling class in Britain, and, in particular, the king, did not understand. It was George's thought that a loyal people would obey a patriot king. Accordingly, the government sent supplies of stamped paper to America and appointed officers to collect the revenue. But at once tumult arose. Representatives of nine colonies met at New York in October, 1765, and drew up a protest, asserting that Parliament could not tax those who had in it no representation.

Boston became the centre of keen agitation. Oliver, the secretary of the province of Massachusetts, had accepted the post of stamp distributor. When the sale of stamps was to begin, an angry mob destroyed the stamp office and sacked his house and that of Hutchinson, the chief-justice. Merchants promised to order no goods, and even to pay no debts, in England, until the Act was repealed. Lawyers agreed not to use stamped paper. Boxes of stamps arriving from England were destroyed. There followed a paralysis of legal business, and, finally, the colonial governments issued proclamations authorizing non-compliance with the law. Chatham assailed the Act. At the same time he declared that Parliament was supreme

over the colonies, and might legislate for, though it ought not to tax, them. He distinguished between legal and moral right. His eloquence was supported by the fact, soon obvious, that what we should now call the boycott in America of British products was causing distress in England. Grenville soon retired from office; a ministry led by the Marquis of Rockingham came in, and the Act was repealed in March, 1766. But by this time the stubborn temper of the king had been aroused. He insisted that Parliament should not yield its claim to the right of taxation. The result was that Parliament passed a Declaratory Act asserting the complete supremacy, even in respect to taxation, of the British Parliament over the colonies.

Townshend's Tax on American Imports, 1767.—The repeal of the Stamp Act caused rejoicing in America. During the agitation Philadelphia Quakers had refused to buy British cloth and had worn only homespun. Now, to show that the trouble was over, they resolved to wear, on the king's birthday, new suits of English manufacture. Statues were raised to the king and to Chatham, and the difficulty seemed ended. Yet on both sides was there now suspicion. In the colonies feeling had been definitely arrayed against the mother-country and had taken a violent form. In England there was resentment at this violence and at the refusal to share the burden of taxation. Time and tact might have allayed the irritation, but time was wanting for better conditions to mature. Rockingham was soon obliged to retire from office, and a ministry was formed in which Chatham was the real, but the Duke of Grafton the nominal, prime minister. Unhappily Chatham was now ill, and no one held the reins tightly. Charles Townshend, the young and clever, the too clever, chancellor of the exchequer, had to face in the House of Commons irritated squires, who declared that the tax of four shillings in the pound might be reduced to three shillings if the ministry would do its duty in regard to America. There was no one in control of the ministry. Each minister seems to have

done what he liked, and in January, 1767, Townshend rose in the Commons, and, to the amazement of his colleagues, promised to raise a considerable revenue by taxing the American colonies. New York had recently declined to furnish provisions for British troops quartered there, and Parliament was in an angry mood. Following Townshend's lead, it now imposed a duty, to be paid at American ports, on glass, painters' colours, paper, and tea. It did more; to punish New York it suspended the powers of its legislature, and it provided for the strict enforcement of the Navigation Acts, which forbade the colonies to trade directly with foreign countries.

The "Boston Massacre," 1770.—After this legislation the trouble was incurable. To those in England whose thoughts now turned to the use of force, the colonies seemed weak. George III urged his ministers to insist on "unconditional submission." In some quarters there was ardent talk about disloyal and blustering demagogues in the colonies who spoke for only a few and used brave words but would not fight. Unimaginative Englishmen could not see why manly colonists should not pay, as they themselves paid. They did not see that the spirit of Hampden and Pym was in these men, and that in the hour of trial they would show the rugged determination and valour of Englishmen. Samuel Adams, the chief leader in Massachusetts, was a bold and skilful agitator, and he soon stirred colonial opinion to fury. Massachusetts sent out a strong circular letter to the other colonies urging them to common action. When an order came from England that the letter should be recalled, the Assembly of Massachusetts refused to obey and was promptly dissolved by the governor. Boston became so violent that troops were sent out from England to keep order. The inevitable bloodshed took place in 1770. Some British soldiers, harassed in the streets by a Boston mob and hard pressed, at last fired upon the crowd, killing three or four. After this it could no longer be doubted that each side was in deadly earnest.

North Leaves Only the Tax on Tea, 1770.—This “Boston Massacre” might have been followed by an immediate appeal to arms, had not a change come in the councils of the mother-country. For ten years George had been trying to drive out the Whigs, and now, at last, bribery had secured for him a Tory majority. In 1770 the Tory, Lord North, took office. He accepted the view of George, that the king should himself direct the government; and he did not consider himself prime minister in the sense in which Walpole had regarded that office. He was a man of high personal character, and had tact, wit, sweet temper, and a real knowledge of affairs. But the king dictated to him the policy which he should pursue, and his ministry of twelve years was destined to prove disastrous. At first, however, North quieted the trouble in America. Townshend’s duties had brought in almost no revenue, but had caused endless irritation. Quite willing to show that the Whigs had ruled badly, North introduced, on the very day of the bloodshed in Boston, a bill repealing all the American duties except the tax on tea, which was retained at the insistence of the king, merely to assert the right of the mother-country to tax the colonies.

The Burning of the “Gaspée,” 1772.—In spite of the mild policy of Lord North, new causes of discord soon appeared. It was not only the English squire who was angry with the colonies. The merchants also were aroused and now insisted on all the benefits from trade with the colonies which the Navigation Acts promised them. In spite of the law forbidding direct trade with foreign countries, New England carried on extensive business with the French colonies in the West Indies. But now armed British ships were sent to patrol the American coasts, with orders to enforce strictly laws which had been largely a dead letter. One of these ships, the *Gaspée*, had exasperated the Rhode Islanders by interfering with their trade. In June, 1772, she ran aground near Providence, while chasing a suspected vessel, and the aggrieved traders had at length their

opportunity. They attacked her at night, severely wounded her commander, removed the crew, and then set fire to the ship. The perpetrators of the outrage returned to Providence in broad daylight, and no reward could induce any one to give information against them.

The Boston Tea Ships, 1773.—The final crisis came in 1773. The East India Company was in financial difficulties and needed money. Having on hand a large stock of tea, it now secured leave from the British government to send tea to America at the low rate of duty of three-pence a pound. As a shilling a pound was paid in England and had hitherto been charged in America, the low duty was really a boon to users of tea, and it was thought by many that the colonies would welcome the concession. The duty on tea was, however, the one tax levied by Britain in America. Agitators had already declaimed against even drinking tea while the tax remained, and when they saw that tea was to be imported in immense quantities by a powerful corporation, they stirred excitement in America to fever heat. At Philadelphia, New York, and elsewhere, either the tea ships were turned back, without landing their cargoes, or the tea was stored in warehouses, pending an appeal to the British government. But at Boston more violent counsels prevailed. Some tea ships lay in the harbour and were about to land their cargoes, when forty or fifty Bostonians, who chose to wear the disguise of Mohawk Indians, boarded them at night and emptied into Boston harbour the cargoes of tea valued at eighteen thousand pounds.

The First Continental Congress, 1774.—What was regarded by many in America as an act of high patriotism seemed in England to be only a lawless violation of the rights of property, and Parliament proceeded to drastic measures. It closed and blockaded the port of Boston, until the town should atone for the lawless deed. It gave authority to the governor of Massachusetts to veto the Acts of the Assembly. Most ominous of all, it sent a soldier,

General Gage, to replace Hutchinson, the civilian governor. Meanwhile, the colonies were arming. Virginia, in ardent sympathy with Massachusetts, invited a Continental Congress to meet at Philadelphia in September, 1774. Twelve out of thirteen colonies sent representatives, and the movement was at once formidable. The Congress asked for redress that involved the repeal of some dozen British Acts of Parliament. Instead of yielding, the British Parliament enacted further coercive measures. It had just furnished the colonies with a new grievance, by passing the Quebec Act, which established a despotic government at Quebec and placed under its control a great part of the vast interior of the continent. The Act also conferred large liberties upon the Roman Catholic Church. The measure led the colonies to fear that a plan was on foot to cancel their liberties and rule them as Quebec was ruled.

3. WAR WITH THE ENGLISH COLONIES

The Second Continental Congress Makes Washington Commander-in-chief, 1775.—War was now close at hand. In April, 1775, when General Gage sent to seize some military stores which the colonists had collected at Concord, near Boston, colonial militia attacked his troops as they passed through Lexington. A bloody engagement followed, in which the British lost some three hundred men and the colonists about one hundred. When, in June, the British found that the colonists had occupied and fortified a spur known as Breed's Hill, on the Bunker Hill ridge which overlooks Boston, they resolved to dislodge them. Some three thousand British troops attacked the position on the Hill, but only after three times charging it and with a casualty list of more than a thousand, did they drive off the American defenders. Then at last it was clear that the struggle would be formidable.

George Washington and the Continental Army.—The bloodshed at Lexington had aroused New England to appeal to the other colonies for military aid. Foremost in offering

it was Virginia. Its chief representative at the coming together of the Continental Congress which met in May, 1775, was George Washington, who had already seen hard frontier warfare in the British service. He was a man of large property, the owner of many slaves, a conservative in spirit. We may wonder that a man of his type should lead a revolutionary movement. Washington was an aristocrat, stately and grave in manners, used to command, with a high sense of duty, and an entire absence of personal ambition. By nature his temper was harsh. When aroused he could break out in furious anger, but he had acquired a self-control almost uncanny. From the first he was vehement in opposing those whom he called in bitter derision "our lordly masters in Great Britain"; and in the darkest hours of the years to come he never wavered in his resolve. In the Congress he alone appeared in uniform, that of a Virginia colonel, and he seems always to have expected the appeal to the sword. Massachusetts, now the seat of war, was anxious to enlist the firm support of more distant colonies, and it was John Adams from that colony who led in naming Washington commander-in-chief of the Continental Army. Washington set out at once for Boston and on the way heard the stern tidings of Bunker Hill.



GEORGE WASHINGTON (1732-1799)

The Varied Enemies of Britain.—Thus began a war destined to spread far. The colonies were divided in mind. At first, probably only a minority in America were in sympathy with armed revolt. Even in New England many influential people were absolutely loyal to Britain. In New York

and Pennsylvania and in the lesser colonies opinion was divided. The land-owning gentry of Virginia, were, in the main, like their leader, Washington, firm in opposing the policy of the king, but farther south, in the Carolinas and Georgia, the loyalists were probably in the majority. The firm lead of Washington held together uncertain and often discordant elements. A survey of the struggle leaves two doubts in the mind. One is whether Britain, the appeal to force once made, could ever have coerced into submission some three million people scattered over a vast area. Certainly whenever her armies ventured far from the sea, they met their defeat chiefly at the hands of a hostile population. The other doubt is whether, without foreign aid, the colonies, poor in both arms and financial resources, might not have been forced at least to accept division, some remaining with Britain, some leaving her. It was the aid of France which secured for Britain's colonies their complete victory.

France was resentful at the defeat, with heavy loss, marked by the treaty of 1763, and when the colonies had made clear that they would fight, she joined them in 1778. With her in 1779 came Spain, bent on recovering Gibraltar, held defiantly by England since 1704. In 1780 war was declared by Holland, eager to humble a maritime rival, and angry at Britain's insistent use of sea-power. She stopped and searched neutral ships on the high seas and confiscated goods of the enemy found in them. Another use of sea-power roused Russia and other northern nations. When Britain declared any ports of the enemy in a state of blockade, this meant that she forbade neutrals to trade with these ports and would confiscate all ships known to have done so. Russia protested that what was called a "paper blockade," a mere naming of the ports declared to be blockaded, was not enough, and that the only valid blockade was one in which a fleet actually stopped trade from entering a port. She joined Denmark and other northern powers in an "armed neutrality," which contained

the menace of war if Britain should insist on her claims. Thus, before the war ended, Britain had to confront not only her own colonies, but also all Western Europe in arms.

The Invasion of Canada, 1775-76.—When in the summer of 1775, Washington took command of the Continental Army, it consisted of about seventeen thousand men, who held General Gage shut up in Boston. The aim of the Continental Congress was to unite the continent against Great Britain. Washington believed that a force sent promptly to the Canadians would be welcomed by these French subjects of George III. Only a dozen years earlier had their country been conquered by the British. Two expeditions set out for Canada. One went by way of Lake Champlain, and, early in November, was able to occupy Montreal. The expedition against the other important town in Canada, Quebec, did not, however, succeed. Benedict Arnold set out with about twelve hundred men to cross a difficult wilderness by way of the Kennebec and Chaudière Rivers, in the hope of being able to take Quebec by surprise. He had a terrible march. Half of his men either turned back or perished by the way, and only a weak remnant laid siege to Quebec in November. It was reinforced from Montreal, and during the whole winter the Americans held on before the fortress. They tried to take it by storm on the last night of the year 1775, but failed, and their leader, General Montgomery, was killed. Sir Guy Carleton defended Quebec, and in proud defiance would hold no communication with the leaders of what he regarded as a force of rebels and traitors. In May, when a fleet arrived at Quebec from England, the Americans were forced to retire from Canada, and Washington's first military effort proved an utter failure. Defeat tempered by an occasional success was, indeed, his portion during a great part of the war, and the wonder is that he should pluck final victory from frequent disaster. In March, 1776, he scored a success, when General Gage evacuated Boston, taking with him hundreds of loyalists, many of whom

ultimately found homes in Canada. For a time after the loss of Boston, the British held none of the colonies. New York, at the mouth of the Hudson River, navigable to the northward almost to Lake George and Lake Champlain, leading to the heart of Canada, was clearly the most valuable position for Washington to hold. Yet, in September, 1776, General Howe, who took over the command from General Gage, won the battle of Long Island and drove Washington headlong from New York, which the British occupied during the rest of the war.

The Declaration of Independence, 1776.—Meanwhile, in 1776, the Continental Congress met at Philadelphia for the third time. On July 4th it took the momentous step of making a Declaration of Independence. By this the colonies renounced all ties which linked them to Britain; in particular, they denounced George III, in vehement clauses, as unworthy to command the allegiance of free men; and they declared that they were states completely independent. This step was to prove final. The British Empire was rent in two. Nor was the mother-land at one with herself. While all parties were ready to unite against the foreign enemy in Europe, leading Whigs denounced the policy of the king in America, in terms as extravagant as those of the Declaration of Independence. Coke of Norfolk, a landowner who lived in such magnificence that the shoes of his horses were said to be of gold and the wheels of his chariot of silver, toasted Washington daily at his table as the greatest man on earth. He and the greatest Whig of the age, Charles James Fox, wore waistcoats of blue and buff because these were the colours of the uniforms of Washington's soldiers. The Whigs held that the colonies did right to resist "taxation without representation" in the body which taxed them. Chatham, though he had been the colleague of Charles Townshend, who imposed the tax on tea, thundered, with his remaining strength, against North and the Tories for their ruinous policy in America. The struggle was, indeed, a phase of Whig and Tory warfare,



NORTH AMERICA (1763-1784)

and the Whigs went to extremes which seem to us disloyal. Chatham died in 1778, having failed wholly to win for the colonies concessions that should prevent separation.

British Defeats at Saratoga, 1777, and Yorktown, 1781.

—Two British defeats form the decisive features of the war. The British general, Burgoyne, was to advance southward from Canada to the Hudson, while another force was to advance northward from New York and to meet Burgoyne at Albany. By this movement the British hoped to separate the more easterly colonies from the others and then to crush the units in detail. The plan failed. No advance was made from New York to help Burgoyne, and he was obliged to surrender his whole force at Saratoga (October, 1777). One result of this success was that France declared war in March, 1778. The Americans had their own reverses. The British defeated Washington at the Brandywine River and occupied Philadelphia only a few weeks before the disaster at Saratoga. Washington was now very hard pressed, and the Continental Congress could raise little money. In the winter of 1777-8, when Washington's army was quartered at Valley Forge, near Philadelphia, his men were half starved, and many of them, bare-footed and ill-clad, were unfit for duty. But men, money, and a great fleet came from France early in 1778, and the British were obliged to evacuate Philadelphia and to concentrate in New York. Henceforth the important fighting was in the south. In 1779 and 1780 the British sent forces by sea and occupied the greater part of North and South Carolina and Georgia. Then, in 1781, under Lord Cornwallis, an able general, they advanced from the south into Virginia, hoping to strike a blow finally effective. Instead, Cornwallis met with disaster. While he waited at Yorktown, on Chesapeake Bay, for reinforcements coming from New York by sea, a French fleet arrived from the West Indies, under the Comte de Grasse, and cut off for a time rescue by sea, while Washington closed in from the landward side in overwhelming force. Cornwallis was

caught in a trap and forced to surrender. A few days later, a British fleet arrived which could have saved him.

The War in India and in Europe.—The fall of Yorktown really ended the war, though more than a year elapsed before peace was signed. “O, God! it is all over,” North cried, when the news came of the surrender of Cornwallis. In March, 1782, he insisted upon resigning from a post in which he had been the reluctant servant of a masterful king. George III had declared that he would abdicate rather than yield to the colonies, and he wished still to go on with the war. The nation was, however, determined to end the strife with America, and the king could no longer count upon a servile House of Commons. There was varied unrest. The terrible Gordon Riots had shown the elements of disorder in England. Ireland was on the verge of revolution and made a formal declaration of independence, which was accepted in 1782 by the British Parliament. In other parts of the world the outlook was, indeed, more cheering. In India Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, made Britain stronger than ever before. In Europe, too, her position was far less desperate than in America. Spain had declared that she must recover Gibraltar and Minorea before peace could be signed. In 1779 she laid siege to these places. Minorea fell in 1782. For three years General Eliott, afterwards Lord Heathfield, held out in Gibraltar. The starving garrison had sometimes to eat thistles and dandelions. But Spain could not take Gibraltar. In September, 1782, she made a final supreme effort with forty-six ships of war, countless small craft, and ten huge rafts, which cost half a million pounds and carried one hundred and forty-two guns. The fall of the famous fortress seemed so certain that the French prince, afterwards King Charles X, went to witness it. What he saw, instead, was the flames of eight of the great rafts set on fire by the red-hot balls of the defenders, and the ruin of the attack. The siege continued, however, until the peace left Gibraltar to Britain.

Treaty of Paris and of Versailles, 1783.—Lord Shelburne, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne, had become prime minister, in 1783, when George III had to accept bitter defeat. The Treaty of Paris recognized the independence of the United States; the Peace of Versailles closed the struggle with France and Spain. Just twenty years earlier Britain had reached a high pinnacle of glory, but now she had been brought low, chiefly through the obstinacy of the king. Stubborn as he was, he yet understood when he must yield, and he could be gracious and magnanimous. He said to John Adams, whom he received as the first minister of the United States: "I will be very frank with you. I was the last to consent to the separation, but the separation having been made . . . I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power." The colonies had won a complete victory. Britain, however, retained vast areas in North America—Canada, Nova Scotia, and the great Hudson's Bay Territory. Her position in India remained secure. She yielded Minorca to Spain, and also restored to her Florida, taken in 1763, but she retained Gibraltar. France gained nothing for herself. Considering the depth of the fall, it is surprising that Britain was able to retain so much. Her ability to do so must be ascribed chiefly to her strength on the sea, which was still much greater than that of any other power.

CHAPTER XVII

SOCIETY IN ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1. THE CONDITION OF AGRICULTURE

The Growth of Population.—The eighteenth century, though it lacks the fervour of conviction so notable in the Puritan age, was really a great epoch. We find in operation most of the better tendencies which we call modern. 1. The age saw the practical end of religious persecution and of the bribery of members of Parliament, which had gone on 3 since the party system began. Intelligence increased among the people. William the Conqueror ruled almost as many Englishmen as did Edward IV, but the six million people in England in 1750 had become nine million by 1800. 5 Improved industry and improved agriculture were the causes of this development. In the nineteenth century, the increase 6 became so marked that the population multiplied fourfold. The growth has been chiefly in the north, where vast industries use the coal and iron which there lie close together.

Roads and Travel.—In the England which George III began to rule in 1760 there were still vast stretches of forest; a great part even of a centrally situated county like Essex was wooded. Apart from the few main highways, roads hardly existed, and wheeled vehicles were rarely seen in country parts. Even so bulky a commodity as coal was carried on the backs of horses. Only once a month was there a coach from London to Edinburgh, and the journey occupied sixteen days; any one wishing to reach Edinburgh quickly went by sea. Travel in the sailing ships of the time often involved delay and discomfort. Ships had sometimes to wait for days, or even weeks, for

a favourable wind. There were few quays for landing, and passengers were often lowered into open boats miles from shore. Travel was so costly as to be a privilege of the rich.

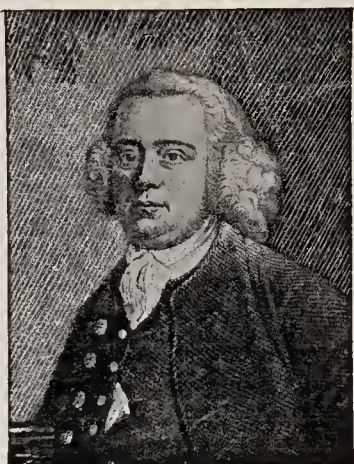
Improvements in Communications.—Few things aid the well-being of society more than ease of communication. Ideas, as well as merchandise, circulate when men can move readily from one place to another. Improved transportation illustrates this truth. Some of the main highways were the old Roman roads, built to last for ever, of three or four courses of heavy stone and rubble laid in mortar, often to a depth of three feet. The Romans had made these costly roads in order to move troops readily, and a similar need led now to revived road-building. After the rising of 1715 in Scotland, General Wade built military highways across the Highlands. This not only ended disorder by making possible the quick concentration of troops, but it brought those remote regions into direct touch with the thought and life of the outer world. Before 1800 many new roads were built in England. But it was not until 1815 that Macadam was appointed surveyor of the Bristol roads and carried out the method, which spread over all the world, of building roads of stone broken into small irregular fragments, laid on a well-drained track, and solidified by use. To meet the cost, tolls were charged, and toll-gates have disappeared only in recent times.

The Building of Canals.—In this age, too, canals opened up the interior of England to communication by water. James Brindley, an engineer in the service of the Duke of Bridgewater, planned a canal from the duke's coal-pits at Worsley to Manchester. Such a canal would have to be carried across the river Irwell by a high-level aqueduct. This project involved what was as yet hardly known in England, but was already adopted in other countries, the raising of ships in the water from a lower to a higher level by means of locks. It was at first scouted as impossible, but the canal was completed in 1761. The effect of this cheap means of transport was felt at once; in Man-

chester the price of coal fell quickly. By 1800 there were three thousand miles of canals, and the canal boats, drawn by horses, were used even for passenger traffic, in competition with the slow travel by coach. The canals brought remote parts of England into touch with the seaboard and made it easy to carry the heaviest articles to all parts of the kingdom. At a later time, the railways were able to do this so cheaply that many of the canals passed out of use.

The Defects of Agriculture.

—The well-being of any state is closely related to its agriculture. Mother earth was made much more productive in England in the eighteenth century than she had been in any previous age. During the reign of Elizabeth sheep farming had been general, and single land-owners often had flocks of more than twenty thousand sheep. In time wool-growing became less profitable. In the seventeenth century mixed farming gained ground, but until the time of George II English agriculture was very primitive. The old methods of the mediæval manor were still in vogue. More than half of the cultivated land was farmed on the open-field system, under which the villagers worked in partnership. Villages had three great fields; in one, each year, wheat or rye would be sown; in the second, oats, barley, pease, or beans; and the third would lie fallow. Usually a small farmer had about six acres in each of the three fields, and he had also about two acres of meadow, together with rights of pasturage and of cutting wood on the rough uncleared land. Until the harvest he looked after his own acres, marked off in strips by balks of turf. His strips were often widely scattered in the great fields, and much time was lost in going to and from



JAMES BRINDLEY (1716-1772)

them. After the harvest the fences were opened, and all the villagers then turned their cattle into the fields.

Improvements in Agriculture.—Under this system, a village still formed a community that supplied most of its few wants. An Act of the reign of Elizabeth provided that each new cottage should be set in four acres of land. The cottagers thus had large plots to till for themselves. They manufactured their own rude farm implements, carved from wood their own spoons, bowls, and platters, brewed their own beer, and made their own homespun clothing, leather boots, and harness. They had few calls to go from home, and they saw but little of the outside world. Sometimes they derided as foreigners people living in the next county or even village. No doubt the open-field system, by forcing the tiller of the soil to supply many of his home needs, made him more skilful with his hands than he is now. Not the less was it wasteful and unprogressive. It held every man down to the level of his neighbours. The narrow strips of land, separated by turf and bushes among which noxious weeds were apt to flourish, made thorough ploughing impossible. There was little drainage or manuring, and in the great open fields a lack of variety in crops was inevitable. The cattle and sheep were still very small, but since the cattle of all the farmers herded together in the common pasturage, improved breeding was difficult, and diseases were readily communicated.

Turnips and clover, so essential to modern stock-raising, were little cultivated. For want of fodder only a few of the animals could be kept throughout the winter, and these were in a half-starved condition. Above all, the small farmers of the village had not the intelligence or the capital to undertake great improvements. These were required by the new agriculture of the eighteenth century. The names of Jethro Tull (d. 1741) and Lord Townshend (d. 1738) deserve honour from all interested in the cultivation of land. Tull found by experiment, what is to us a commonplace, that, for the best results, the soil must be thoroughly

worked and stirred. By this means he made his own land vastly more productive, and he is really the pioneer in modern scientific farming. Townshend, who had been Walpole's colleague, but could not brook that masterful spirit, retired to his estate in Norfolk, and studied so successfully the cultivation of the turnip that he came to be known as "Turnip" Townshend.

Enclosures and the Ruin of the Yeoman Class.—The new agriculture came at the right moment. British industry was developing, the population was increasing, and there was so wide a demand for food products that by 1793 Britain had no longer a surplus of grain for export. The new tillage probably increased five-fold the fertility of the soil. But it destroyed the open-field system. As the demand for bread and beef was great, land-owners found it profitable to put large capital into agriculture. The rich land-owner, anxious to secure more land, bought up the rights of the small farmer, removed the balks of turf that disfigured the fields, and farmed on a large scale. By the early years of the nineteenth century the open-field system had well-nigh disappeared. In many cases, even the open spaces, or commons, formerly free to all the villagers, had been enclosed by the landlord as his private property. For each case of enclosure a special Act of Parliament was necessary; but in the first forty years of the reign of George III, about three million acres were so enclosed. The villagers were paid for what they gave up; land, formerly barren, soon produced rich harvests; and the farms increased enormously in value. If England was to try to feed her population, the change was necessary. None the less did it involve painful results, which Goldsmith has effectively portrayed in his *Deserted Village* (1770). The small land-owner, the sturdy yeoman class, which had done so much in the past, almost disappeared. The tiller of the soil, who had owned a piece of land, and was usually sure, at least, of subsistence, became now a mere hired labourer, dependent upon wages alone, and, in bad times, often out

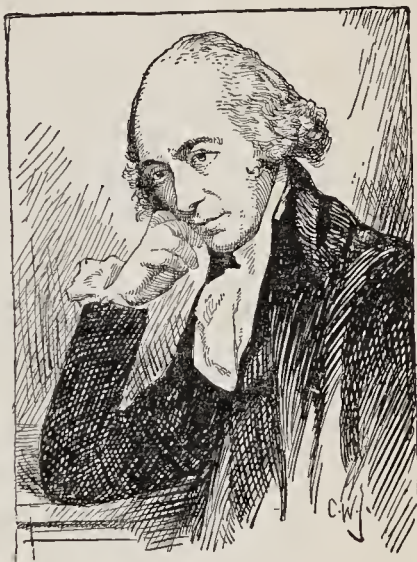
of employment. No longer did the magic of owning property inspire his efforts. Sometimes by vexatious law-costs and unjust treatment he secured little for what he gave, and for him enclosure too often meant robbery. The English farm labourer of to-day, with no right of property in the soil, only a tenant in his cottage, and living often in sordid discomfort, is probably worse off than was the average peasant under the open-field system. This deterioration was perhaps inevitable, but it was a high price to pay for improved agriculture. The very increase of population made the labourer's lot harder, for the problem of housing became serious, and unsanitary over-crowding was common.

2. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The Increased Use of Coal and Iron.—Changes in industry produced results even more marked than those in agriculture. A mark of the modern age is the steady increase in the number of daily needs. The Englishman of the time of Henry VIII did not use tobacco, or tea, or coffee, or even sugar. He had no oranges, or lemons, or rice. Silks and cottons, though used in the East, were to him all but unheard of. But, by the eighteenth century, varied gifts of nature from all parts of the world were coming into general use. If England received such supplies, she must in turn send goods to pay for them; and in the second half of the eighteenth century she scattered all over the world the products of her industry. Hitherto she had used but slightly the gifts with which nature had richly endowed her. An abundance of coal and of iron lay close together in the north, but the methods of mining coal were lame, and it was, moreover, believed that the smelting of iron could be best done by the use of charcoal from wood. The demand for wood was depleting the great forests, and the process was costly. The few factories were chiefly situated where water-power was available. For centuries England had excelled in woollen products. Each cottage had its spinning-wheel, each village its loom. There was little heavy

machinery, and the factories were few. From about 1750 these conditions began to change, until to-day whole districts in the north of England, where coal and iron are found close together, have become vast workshops.

The Steam-engine.—When in 1761 John Roebuck patented a process for smelting iron from pit coal, these two gifts of nature began to serve each other. In 1765 James Watt invented the steam-engine, and by 1785 he had so perfected it that it became henceforth the chief source of power for factories. Coal, iron, and steam-power furnished, however, only the raw material, and the energy for manufacture would have had slight result but for an astonishing succession of delicate and complex improvements. The age was one of eager inquiry. Chemistry and other sciences became the handmaids of industry which made Britain the most resourceful producing nation in the world.



JAMES WATT (1736-1819)

The Use of Wool and Cotton.—The most striking inventions were in spinning and in weaving, not only wool, but also cotton. Before the eighteenth century, cotton was little known in England, and when this rival to wool first appeared, every effort was made to check its use. Enraged weavers, seeing the woollen trade in danger, sometimes tore cotton textures from the backs of ladies in the streets. Parliament also came to the aid of the woollen trade, by enacting that all persons more than six years old should wear on Sundays and holidays woollen caps made in England, and that every corpse should be buried in woollen.

A law of 1721 forbade the wearing of printed calicoes, and in 1766 a lady was fined two hundred pounds for having a handkerchief of French cambric. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* appeared in 1776, and his new school of political economy urged that, since labour is the one source of wealth, the state should leave industry a free hand and aim to furnish open markets to its products. After this the cotton trade, no longer checked, soon became vastly more extensive even than the woollen.

Inventions in Spinning and Weaving.—This result was only possible through some wonderful inventions. The spinning and weaving which we see in our beautiful woollen, cotton, silk, and linen fabrics, require a high degree of skill. During centuries these age-long arts had made little advance. The spinning-wheel was worked by the hand or the foot, and but one yarn could be spun at a time. Weaving, too, remained backward, and it was the first to be improved. The warp of a cloth is the threads which run the length of the piece. The woof consists of the threads running across the width. Hitherto the shuttle carrying the woof had been thrown from one side to the other by hand. In 1733 John Kay patented a "fly-shuttle," so called because it flew from side to side, thrown no longer by hand but by machinery. When in 1788 Dr. Cartwright, a clergyman, invented the power-loom, weaving was done by steam-power. Spinning kept pace with weaving. In 1770 James Hargreaves patented the spinning-jenny, so named, it is said, after the daughter of a spinner. By this machine, no longer only one, but even sixteen or more threads, could be spun at a time. In 1769 Richard Arkwright patented the spinning-frame, in which the cotton or wool was put through rollers which could produce any required degree of fineness. In 1779 Samuel Crompton united these two processes in one machine, and the invention was called the mule, because, like that animal, which is a cross between the horse and the donkey, it united in itself the qualities of two separate parents—the frame of

Arkwright and the jenny of Hargreaves. By these inventions the textile industries became the source of great wealth, and English woollen and cotton products spread all over the world. Silk-weaving was also introduced into England and became important, though the home growth of the silk-worm did not prove successful. An industry which developed a beautiful product was pottery. Josiah Wedgwood, greatly influenced by Greek designs, produced exquisitely delicate articles, widely copied by other potters. The fact that money could be borrowed at three per cent. made it possible to obtain cheaply the needed capital for great industrial enterprises. Manufacturers began to rival land-owners in influence, and in the end broke their dominance in politics.

The Drawbacks of the Industrial Revolution.—The use of machinery meant the ruin of the small hand industries to be found in many poor households. Costly machinery meant that the man with capital controlled the industry. While he might make a fortune, the artisans became mere hired labourers and often lacked work, since the machine did so much. It was natural that men who thus lost their means of livelihood should dislike the inventions. Mobs sometimes broke up the machines, burned the factories which contained them, and even attacked the inventors, a few of whom were obliged to go to foreign countries to carry on their experiments. No doubt the changes involved severe loss to many workmen. On the other hand, the use of machinery, by cheapening the cost of clothing, household utensils, and other commodities, enlarged the consumption, and in time increased the demand for labour. Yet the new conditions were not wholesome. Instead of remaining in their own cottages, work-people were now crowded into great factories, often under unsanitary conditions, and the tension on the worker was increased. Children could work some of the machines, and since this labour was cheap, a great many were employed in the factories. The result was injury to the children of the nation. When trade was good,

many persons found work readily enough and earned high pay, but slackness in trade left them in need of relief. The attempt to give such relief led, about 1795, to a system of weekly doles to able-bodied men, if they were not earning enough to support their families. Soon the principle was laid down that every needy family was entitled to an allowance in proportion to its numbers, and by 1800 one-seventh of the population was in receipt of poor relief. Idle and industrious shared alike, and the Poor Laws demoralized English life for nearly half a century, until they were reformed under William IV. Yet, in spite of many evils, the balance of good is probably with the changes due to the Industrial Revolution. People in the towns had wider means both of self-improvement and of relaxation. In the village thought had tended to be stagnant. The movement of the town quickened intelligence and gave the workers a new outlook.

3. CRIMES AND CRIMINALS

The Severity of the Criminal Law.—The laws of England were ill-suited to the needs of the time. Only in 1733 was it provided that legal documents should be in English alone, and not in Latin or French. For many generations the laws had recognized that there was such a thing as witchcraft and punished it with cruel tortures and death; not until 1736 were these atrocious punishments abolished. The penalties of crime were barbarously severe and were also unjust. The property-owners, who made the laws, naturally looked upon offences against property as the most heinous. To steal a horse or a sheep, to pick a pocket of more than a shilling, to steal goods from a shop, to destroy maliciously a tree in a garden, were all punishable with death; while graver moral offences,—such as attempted murder, and false swearing which might cause the execution of an innocent person, were more lightly punished. A servant who had wounded his master fifteen times with a hatchet, in an attempt at murder, was executed, not for this offence, but for burglary in entering the room. Since

the penalty for trifling theft was death, juries and judges acquitted obviously guilty persons rather than inflict so terrible a punishment. Undue severity of the law thus caused crime to be condoned, not punished; and accused persons, relying on this forbearance, sometimes preferred to be tried on a capital charge. Usually, it seems, there were not more than fifty executions in London in the course of a single year; and when we compare this record with the immense number of thefts, in days without police, we see that the rigour of the law was more nominal than real. Yet even this number of executions was dreadful. Every six weeks a procession of criminals passed through the streets of London from the prison at Newgate to the gallows at Tyburn, and ribald crowds flocked to see the last grim spectacle.

The Condition of the Prisons.—The old method of discouraging crime by exposing the remains of criminals was still in vogue. Travellers entering London by the Edgware Road passed rows of rotting corpses hung on gibbets and often arrayed in full dress and wig. Grinning skulls of executed offenders lined the top of Temple Bar. In other ways crime was made to seem odious. Men and women were flogged through the London streets or fastened helpless in the public pillory, to be pelted, sometimes to death, by cruel and mischievous idlers. The London prisons were crowded, and many of those confined were not criminals, but debtors held until they should pay what they owed. Often the debtor's family remained with him in prison, and children were thus reared in the tainted atmosphere of the jail. To be sent to prison even to await trial was itself a terrible punishment. Trials were delayed sometimes for months, and in remoter places for even two or three years. Meanwhile, the accused might be herded with companions from the most depraved classes. Men and women were kept day and night in the same wards and were often unable to observe the usual decencies of life. Almost no effort was made for the instruction or reform of

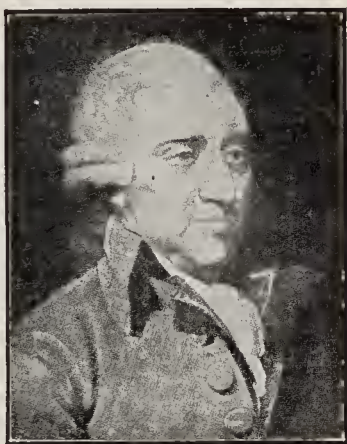
the prisoners. They were left to corrupting idleness. If without means of their own, they were dependent upon charity for food; for it was not yet the recognized duty of the state to feed those whom it kept in custody. The jailers received no salary, but were paid by fees rigorously exacted from the prisoners. Many a man declared guiltless of crime was still held in jail until he could pay the bill of his jailer. Better things were to be seen elsewhere. In the Low Countries prisoners were employed and given a share in the profits of their labour, and effective efforts to reform them were made.

John Howard and Elizabeth Fry.—The English prisons were probably the worst in Europe. Descriptions of their terrible condition have been left on record by John Howard, the great prison reformer, who began his work in 1773.

Many prisoners were kept chained. Windows were as few as possible, for each window was taxed; and the dark and cheerless dungeons, in which many prisoners spent the greater part of the time, had such a pestilential atmosphere that Howard's memorandum-book, carried through a prison, was unfit for use until he had dried it for an hour or two before a fire. After his visits, his clothes so reeked with the prison smell that he could not drive in a covered coach, but had to ride on horseback. Bred from these unsanitary conditions, a terrible prison fever, like the present typhus, and peculiar to England, carried off more than the gallows claimed. Judge and jury sometimes took the disease from sitting in the tainted atmosphere of the court-room where the prisoners were tried.

Howard travelled as far as Smyrna, in Asia Minor, and he died in 1790 at Kherson in Russia. "Lay me quietly in the earth," he wrote in his last days: "place a sun-dial over my grave, and let me be forgotten." But he was not forgotten. Much remained to be done. Elizabeth Fry died just fifty years after Howard. Though a woman, she became a minister in the Society of Friends and preached with great effect. Through her influence men and women

prisoners, formerly herded together, were entirely separated; women were appointed to look after the females; teachers and work were provided for prisoners, and efforts were made to reform their characters. During the eighteenth century many hospitals had been founded in Britain --some fifty in all. They were still confined to populous centres. The management was often ignorant and careless, and so many evils resulted from the herding together of diseased people in buildings ill-ventilated and dirty that some regarded hospitals as a curse rather than a blessing. Howard and Mrs. Fry did much to call attention to these evils, but it was late in the nineteenth century before most of the hospitals were really well-managed.



JOHN HOWARD (1726-1790)

The Lack of Police.—In spite of the severe penalties for crime, England was a lawless country. One chief reason was that, while crime was terribly punished, the means of preventing it were little studied. Well-trained policemen guard the streets of the modern city; but in the eighteenth century, police, in our sense, were unknown. The few constables maintained by each town were not sufficient to check the lawless elements in time to prevent serious harm. When disorder had grown serious and endangered public peace, the soldiers were called out. During the Gordon Riots of June, 1780, a rabble of sixty thousand rioters threatened the lives of members who were trying to make their way to the Houses of Parliament. Only after the crowd became violent were some troopers called to the scene. These, declaring that their sympathies were with the mob, rode away, and for days London was given over to unchecked disorder. A small body of policemen,

acting with energy at the beginning, would probably have prevented the trouble.

The Lawlessness of England.—In 1767 and for some years thereafter, we find dreadful outbreaks of violence in London. A householder named Green was besieged for hours in his house by a mob armed with firearms, and no guardian of the peace appeared. Green himself escaped from the place, but his sister was dragged into the street and murdered. In broad daylight a mob of two thousand persons stoned to death, near Bethnal Green, a person who was obnoxious to them, and, in spite of his entreaties for a speedy death, they protracted his agonies for two hours. The streets of London were so unsafe throughout the eighteenth century that even royal persons were stopped and robbed. A highwayman once dropped over the wall of Kensington Gardens, and, with every expression of respect took from George II himself, who was walking there alone, his purse, watch, and shoe-buckles. The mail-coaches were special objects of attack and were often stopped on the highways. These attacks ceased only in 1792, when an armed guard was sent with the mails. Smugglers landed their cargoes on the Suffolk coast, and armed convoys sometimes escorted the goods into the interior in defiance of the forces of the law. Piracy was still a danger to sea-going commerce. Early in the eighteenth century a pirate named Roberts cruised the high seas with some armed ships and carried on bold depredations. At last, in 1722, Chaloner Ogle won knighthood by a clever attack on the pirate fleet; Roberts himself was killed, and fifty-two of his men were hanged in chains at Cape Coast Castle.

4. SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Gambling and Drinking.—The rapid growth of wealth had an evil effect upon morals. In the reign of Anne, gambling was so wide-spread that an Act of Parliament declared to be invalid any transfers of property made to pay gambling debts. George III had the tastes of a refined

country gentleman and forbade gaming in the royal palaces. But dreams of great riches infected the upper classes, and stakes at play were so heavy that sometimes one hundred thousand pounds changed hands at a single sitting. The state, if not the king, encouraged gambling, by the holding of annual public lotteries. Prizes, in the form of annuities which might mean comfort for life, were given to the fortunate drawers. Touters selling tickets, or a share in a ticket, for some cost ten pounds, went to every part of the country. The government alone made as much as three hundred thousand pounds a year from lotteries, and not until 1826 did it end this pernicious form of gambling. Drunkenness was common in all ranks of society. The upper classes drank wine in quantities that now astound us. Six gallons of spirits for each head of population were consumed then to one now. Dr. Johnson tells us that respectable people of his native Lichfield were drunk every night, and no one thought the worse of them. The common people drank gin because it was cheap; and gin shops openly made the offer that in them people might get drunk for a penny, dead drunk for two-pence, and have straw to lie on for nothing. It was in this age that the sight of women frequenting public bars, which still amazes people of other nations, became familiar in England.

Dress and Distinctions of Rank.—Increased national wealth brought improvements, as well as abuses. The trade which the British carried on in all parts of the world greatly increased the comforts of every class. Even the poor now drank tea, long regarded as an expensive luxury. They might also have greater variety in their food—potatoes, turnips, carrots, and cabbages, wheaten bread, and frequently beef or mutton. In the fashionable world the dinner was now as late as five, though conservative Oxford still dined at twelve or one. Poor guests complained that, when they dined with a great man, his servants stood in a line at the exit, each expecting a present called a “vail”; and often this expense made it impossible to accept hos-

pitality. The dress of women was not radically different from what it is now, though the arrangement of the hair was often so elaborate that it was kept undisturbed for days, and the wearer could lie down only with discomfort. Until toward the end of the century, men of fashion wore long powdered hair, or wigs, and dressed in bright colours, with rich cuffs and frills of lace; but about 1783 Charles James Fox, who was a leader in fashion as well as in politics, began to dress less elaborately by way of a return to republican simplicity. Those who spoke in the House of Commons gradually ceased to wear court dress and swords; bishops left off their purple and the lower clergy their cassocks. Before the century closed, venturesome youth cut the hair short. By that time to carry an umbrella in the street no longer attracted attention, though when this was first done a jeering crowd was likely to follow the innovator. Manners became less formal, and the phrases of courtesy less studied. But distinctions of rank, which have since yielded so much to the freer spirit of the modern era, were still rigidly marked. With a few strictly defined exceptions, unless a man had a freehold of a hundred pounds a year or a leasehold of a hundred and fifty pounds, he might not fish or hunt even in his own grounds. The noblemen held aloof from the country gentlemen, and it was the noblemen who ruled the land. The younger Pitt was himself the only commoner in the ministry, when he first took office, and even he was the son of a peer. The land-owners were, however, no longer the only power in the state, and riches were passing to the trading classes. Yet it was still a cause of wonder to many that tradesmen should keep private carriages. No matter how rich tradesmen might have become, George III refused to create peers from this class.

The Slave-trade and Duelling.—Human life was still but lightly regarded. In spite of determined foes the slave-trade went on throughout the century, and fully seventy-five thousand negroes were carried annually in slave-ships,

amid conditions so horrible that about one-half perished or were permanently injured. In 1783 the master of the *Zong*, a British slave-ship, threw overboard one hundred and thirty-two negroes. He claimed that a storm made this step necessary; but it was proved that sickness was raging among the negroes, and that, on the plea of a storm, they were destroyed, so that the companies in which they were insured against accident but not disease should have to pay for them. Such brutality stimulated the movement for the abolition of the slave-trade, a movement in which William Wilberforce was the leader. At last the trade in slaves was abolished in 1807, though slavery itself was permitted for another quarter of a century. Duelling, which also involved the needless sacrifice of life, still flourished. To kill in a duel was by law the same as murder; yet even moral leaders like Wilberforce thought the practice a social necessity in defence of honour. Not until the nineteenth century did it die out in England.

5. LITERATURE

The Novelists.—English prose, which reached such perfection in the essay writers of the age of Anne, was to find under the Georges a new form of expression—the novel. We find tellers of stories earlier than this, the greatest of them the author of *Robinson Crusoe*. But such stories of adventure differ from a novel, which really involves a tale of love, worked up to a sad or a happy conclusion. In 1740, Samuel Richardson (1689-1761), a successful London bookseller, published *Pamela*, the first novel. His later books, *Clarissa Harlowe* and *Sir Charles Grandison*, are better than *Pamela*, and all are love stories concerned with the struggle of virtue against vice; they mark, indeed, a revival of popular Puritanism, which differs in expression from that of the days of Bunyan, but is not less real. They are full of intense and vivid emotion, and were read with absorbing interest not only in England but also in France. Other writers were quick to follow Richardson. Henry

Fielding (1707-1754) ridiculed the virtuous tone of *Pamela* in *Joseph Andrews*, and later wrote *Tom Jones*, a novel which surpassed anything of Richardson's in the interest of the plot and in brutal truthfulness to life. Tobias Smollett (1721-1771) published *Roderick Random* in 1748. Less than ten years thus sufficed to create a varied literature of this type. In 1766 appeared *The Vicar of Wakefield*, by Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774), a delightful novel dealing with the simple lives of country people. *Tristram Shandy* and *The Sentimental Journey* of Lawrence Sterne (1713-1768) are hardly novels, since they have no plot, but they are full of the qualities of sentiment and emotion found in the novel.

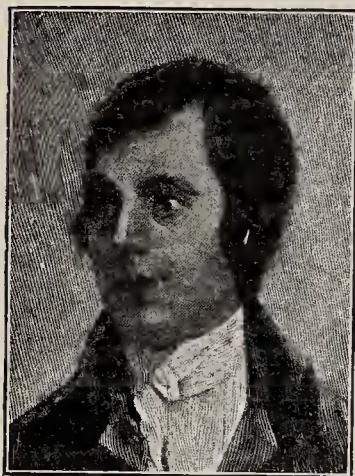
The Historians.—English prose had other triumphs in this age. David Hume (1711-1776) is now chiefly remembered as a philosopher, but he wrote history which had a great reputation in its day. The style of his *History of England* is clear and polished, and the book, though too partisan in its point of view, long remained a standard work. Another Scot, William Robertson (1721-1793), showed in his *History of Charles V* and in his *History of America* both insight and style. The age had, however, a greater historian than Hume or Robertson. Edward Gibbon (1727-1794) finished in 1778 his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. The style is grandiose, with too many high-sounding words, but it is, none the less, brilliant; and Gibbon remains on the whole the greatest historian that England has yet produced.

Other Writers.—No book in the eighteenth century had a greater effect upon society than *The Wealth of Nations*, by Adam Smith (1723-1790), which appeared in 1776. His view, that restrictions on trade and on the right to work must do injury and not benefit to all concerned, made him the founder of modern Free Trade. The deepest thinker of the time on political questions was Edmund Burke (1729-1797). He saw a ferment in society which was to result in an age of revolution, and his *Thoughts on the*

Causes of the Present Discontents, written in 1770, is a plea for government by the trained and educated classes. He worked to avert the American Revolution, and later, when the French Revolution broke out, he attacked its excesses with vigour in his Reflections on the French Revolution and other writings. The literary dictator of the age was Samuel Johnson (1709-1784). He was long a hack writer in London. In 1755 appeared his Dictionary of the English Language, a book much needed. His other chief work is The Lives of the Poets. We remember Johnson less for what he wrote than for his kindly, rugged character and common sense. His admiring friend, James Boswell, made notes of Johnson's words from day to day, and his Life of Johnson, the greatest of English biographies, gives us a vivid picture of the man, a blunt and honest Tory, filled with passionate devotion to his king and country.

The Poets.—When Pope died in 1744, a revolt had already begun against his narrow rules of poetic art and the divorce of poetry from nature. James Thomson (1700-1748) finished in 1730 his Seasons, in which he describes Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter with real feeling for nature. We find this feeling in even more striking form in The Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard, by Thomas Gray (1716-1771). In this poem the sights and sounds of a rural village are depicted as affecting greatly the mood of man. The Traveller and The Deserted Village of Oliver Goldsmith are full of "sweet human emotion." William Cowper (1731-1800) takes simple delight in nature for her own sake and watches closely her changing moods. His Task is a description of quiet country life. John Gilpin shows that Cowper had humour, and his deep and often gloomy religious feeling found expression in his hymns, some of which are still popular. There is a great gulf between Pope and Cowper. Pope was artificial; Cowper was natural, in touch with the many phases of human life. It was left for a Scottish ploughman to rival Cowper in some qualities of his genius. Robert Burns (1759-1796) expresses

in his poetry the deepest emotions of man's nature. Not since the age of Elizabeth had love songs been written so full of genuine passion. Burns had the sturdy pride of the Scottish



ROBERT BURNS (1759-1796)

peasant, and in days when rank counted for much, he championed the dignity of the humble: "A man's a man for a' that." Like Cowper, he shows tender affection for dumb animals. Literary men in Edinburgh would have had Burns write only in correct English, but he used the Scottish dialect, to him the forceful language of nature, and no one can regret that he put in this effective form his exquisite songs, his keenly humorous *Tam O'Shanter*, and *The Cottar's*

Saturday Night, a touching picture of a peasant's home. Dissipated habits injured his genius and may have shortened his life. No one has surpassed him as a master of lyric verse.

6. THE STATE OF RELIGION AND EDUCATION

The Methodists.—The fiery religious controversies of a century and a half had so wearied men's minds that at the beginning of the eighteenth century religious enthusiasm was frowned upon as in bad taste. The evil habits of the time, the terrible state of the prisons, the gross ignorance of the masses, called for special zeal from the clergy, but little was done until the rise of a great reformer. John Wesley (1703-1791) was one of a family of nineteen children born to Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth. John's younger brother, Charles (1707-1788), worked with him throughout a long life. While still at Oxford, they had organized a band of men for prayer and good work, with such method that they were nicknamed Methodists. John

Wesley became a clergyman of the Church of England and in 1735 took charge of a mission to the colony of Georgia. Both at this time and after his return to England, he fell under the influence of German Moravians, whose teaching resembled that of the English "Friends" or "Quakers," and in 1738 both he and Charles were, as they phrased it, converted, and henceforth laid chief stress on personal faith in Christ. The teaching offended some of the clergy, and in 1742 John Wesley was refused leave to preach in the church at his birthplace, Epworth. He preached instead in the churchyard, standing on his father's tomb. His work was aided by the hymns of Charles. George Whitefield (1714-1770) was one of the early Methodists, but broke away from Wesley on deep questions of free will and predestination. Much of Whitefield's work was done in America, and there he died.



JOHN WESLEY (1703-1791)

Even careless worldlings of the upper classes flocked to hear his moving eloquence. He and Wesley preached in churches and meeting-houses, but often also in the open air, on village greens, in narrow city streets, on hillsides; once, at least, Wesley spoke from the roof of a pig-sty. His style was quiet, refined, and scholarly, yet vast crowds hung upon his words.

The Methodists Leave the Church of England.—Both Whitefield and Wesley penetrated to the remotest parts of the British Isles. In each year Wesley travelled, usually on horseback, about six thousand miles and preached seven

or eight hundred times. Charles Wesley wrote as many as six thousand hymns, hundreds of which are still sung. The lives of the two brothers are an amazing record of hard work. John often preached at five o'clock in the morning, and at that hour could draw a multitude, who would stay to listen to him even amid torrents of rain. But unfriendly mobs sometimes stoned him and his preachers, or flogged them, or threw them into the water. This, however, did not keep even delicate women from taking part in the brave work. Wesley excelled as an organizer. He did not wish to come under the laws relating to Nonconformists and aimed to keep the Methodists a society within the Church of England. But before his death he ordained men who then administered the sacraments, and the property, the conferences, the quarterly meetings, the love feasts of Methodists had no formal tie with the Church of England. Soon after the death of Wesley, the Methodists formed an independent organization. His work reached the classes hitherto neglected and became a powerful factor in English civilization. Later movements directed against slavery and other social evils and favouring education and the wider rights to vote were greatly influenced by the Methodist movement. Before the close of the century Sunday Schools for teaching religious truths to children were established everywhere, Robert Raikes, of Bristol, a member of the Church of England, being the leader of the movement.

The Defects of Education.—During the greater part of the century secular education made little progress in England. Scotland and Prussia had, at this time, a system of elementary education under which even poor village children were carefully taught. England, however, was far less advanced. The view prevailed that education was not the task of the government; and private persons and the churches were left to do as much or as little as they liked. Not until near the end of the next century, in 1870, was the problem taken up by the state, and, meanwhile, the

injury to the national life was incalculable. There were some good schools, such as Eton and Winchester, for the well-to-do, though the pupils were taught almost nothing but Greek and Latin. The English universities were in a torpid condition and did more to furnish comfortable livings for their officials than to enlighten their students. Though making progress, the practice of medicine was still hampered by tradition. During the century Guy's and other great London hospitals were founded, but disease was still considered by most practitioners a mark of excessive strength which required frequent blood-letting. Small-pox was the most baneful malady of the time, and in one year it carried off more than three thousand victims in London.

The Army and the Navy.—Other professions were as backward as medicine. The officers of the army were badly trained. Already was the jest heard that Britain had “an army of lions led by asses;” but the common soldiers, who were the “lions,” were often the jail-birds, tramps, and loafers of the land, and the alarm of a Highland invasion in 1745 threw them and the rest of England into a panic. Even with this material, able officers could do much, but Wolfe and Clive are the only names famous in British military history between Marlborough and Wellington. Most of the officers in the navy were so rough as to be unfit for the society of the drawing-room, and their men, some of whom had been impressed and forced to serve, were brutalized by hard treatment and bad fare. They slept in dark and unaired quarters, and the rate of mortality was fearful. There is little wonder that many deserted when a chance offered. Yet it was this badly managed army and navy that won the greatest part of the present British Empire. During the Seven Years' War an era of improvement began, but a dangerous mutiny in the navy in 1797 showed that conditions were still trying.

The Arts.—Little that is original or creative is to be found in English architecture since the Tudor age. When

London was burned in 1666, Sir Christopher Wren, as the leading architect, had a great opportunity. He replaced the old St. Paul's Cathedral, which had been Gothic, by the present structure in the Renaissance style and with a great dome. Many of the London churches were also planned by him. Classic pillars and columns prevail in these and in most of the other great buildings of the eighteenth century. In painting, England only slowly developed a national school. Vandyke, Lely, and Kneller; who, from the days of Charles I onwards, succeeded each other as portrait painters, were all of foreign birth. Only in the eighteenth century did England herself, for the first time, produce artists who are truly great. Sir Joshua Reynolds, who died in 1792, ranks high among the world's great portrait painters. His rival, Thomas Gainsborough (*d.* 1788), painted excellent landscapes as well as portraits. It is to the almost brutal fidelity of the paintings and engravings of William Hogarth (*d.* 1764) that we owe our most vivid pictures of the coarseness of this century.

In the eighteenth century new and strong forces were working in England. There were gross abuses, because privileged classes still had political power and were selfish and cruel in grasping all that they could. But a sound public opinion was growing, and no age has seen more remarkable spiritual and intellectual awakenings. In France similar movements led to the outbreak of a terrible revolution in 1789, which involved Europe in war for a quarter of a century. Into the vortex of this war Britain was drawn almost from the first. As a result, the nation then spent its energies in armed strife, and natural growth was checked. Only after 1830, when reaction had run its course, did many ideals, already proclaimed in the eighteenth century, become realities.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND EMPIRE

1. THE RULE OF THE YOUNGER PITT

The American Revolution profoundly affected Europe. France had helped to create the new republic in America, and the principle, asserted by the colonies, that no people should be taxed without their own consent, had been applauded in France. Benjamin Franklin, sent from the United States in order to enlist the help of the French nation, found himself a social lion in Paris. Everywhere the aims of the American Revolution were discussed and approved. That a monarchy, despotic in spirit, should tingle with sympathy for a young republic, was an omen of change in France itself which meant much for Britain. From the struggle of the American Revolution she was to pass rapidly into that of the French Revolution.

The Rejection of Fox's India Bill, 1783.—The British ministers who had had any share in the nation's humiliation in America could not retain power. Shelburne had made the disastrous peace, and he was driven from office in 1783. The king found it no easy task to secure a successor, and for a time had to depend upon a singular combination. Lord North was a Tory; Charles James Fox was the most brilliant Whig in his party. For years they had denounced each other in unsparing terms, yet now, to the dismay of sober-minded people, they united to form a coalition ministry, under the Duke of Portland as prime minister. North was, perhaps, willing to show that he had the courage to defy his former master, but the apparent sacrifice of principle by both himself and Fox shocked the country, and the early fall of the ministry was certain. It came upon a question relating to India. Fox brought in an India Bill shaped by his friend Edmund Burke, which

gave to Parliament some control of India, ruled hitherto by the East India Company. At once there was a fierce outcry that vested interests were being attacked. Fox, it was said, aimed to get control of the resources of India, so as to rival the king in power. The Bill made George III furious. If the East India Company was to be controlled, he wished that the king, and not Parliament, should have the control. When the Bill passed the Commons, he sent notice to the peers that he should regard as his enemy any one voting for the measure. It was the greatest outrage on the rights of Parliament which George committed. He had learned nothing from the American Revolution. The recipients of such a message should have regarded it as an insult to be met by prompt defiance. Instead, the servile Lords, afraid to offend the source of offices and pensions, rejected the Bill. George then dismissed the coalition ministry, and William Pitt, younger son of the great Chatham, a youth twenty-four years old, became prime minister.

William Pitt (1759-1806).—Thus began the long rule of the prime minister who checked, if he did not end, the personal sway of George III. Perhaps the king thought that he would be the master of a minister so youthful. Pitt, however, was already completely matured. He seems never to have been really young. At seven he talked of being in the House of Commons, and at fourteen he is found discussing grave national problems. He was carefully trained for public speaking. Owing to frail health he was never sent away to school, and Chatham directed his education. The passion of Chatham's oratory was overwhelming. His son had a colder temper, but he had a clear, deep voice, trained perfectly in its cadences. He went to Cambridge, where he lived an austere life of study. At twenty he had a deep knowledge of mathematics, which perhaps helped him in his great financial reforms, and he had mastered the whole range of ancient Greek and Latin literature. To acquire readiness and accuracy of diction, he was accustomed to read aloud pages of Greek and Latin

authors and at once to render the meaning into English. When still a boy in years he was a speaker entirely self-possessed. At twenty-three he was chancellor of the exchequer under Shelburne, and now at twenty-four he became prime minister. It is almost unique in the history of any nation that two among its dozen greatest men should be father and son.

Charles James Fox (1749-1806).—The

younger Pitt had a rival, his equal in natural endowment. Charles James Fox, Pitt's elder by ten years, was, like him, a younger son of a peer, Lord Holland.

Their fathers had opposed each other, but while Lord Holland, with little scruple and with the cunning to make himself indispensable in the dark ways of politics, became rich and hated, Chatham remained poor but became illustrious and the nation's idol. At the age of fourteen Charles Fox was taken to Paris by his father and encouraged in gambling and other vices. In spite of vicious habits, nothing could spoil his sweet and generous simplicity of nature. He charmed even his strongest opponents, and was so loved by his friends that every member of his party was said to be ready "to be hanged for Fox." An aristocrat, he was yet one in sympathy with the poorest and could spend happy hours in talk with a farm labourer. He began his career a gambler, a dandy, and a Tory. Gambling cost him a fortune before he ceased to touch cards; the vanity and affectation of the dandy



WILLIAM PITT (1759-1806)

quickly left him; and he became an ardent and beloved leader of the Whigs. Burke declared that Fox was "the most brilliant and accomplished debater that the world ever saw." He, like Pitt, was a scholar and delighted in the classics, and he and Pitt were one in desiring great reforms—the abolition of rotten boroughs, the extension of the



CHARLES JAMES FOX
(1749-1806)

3 right to vote, freer trade, the reform
4 of taxation, the relief of both Pro-
5 testant dissenters and Roman Cath-
6 olics from disabilities, the abolition of
the slave-trade. They differed in that Pitt, charged with power and fighting revolution, became reactionary, while Fox never ceased to urge the desired reforms. On one occasion he gave mortal offence to the king by proposing the toast of "Our sovereign, the People." George III declared that he

would never again, even at the hazard of civil war, have Fox as a minister, but the king had to eat these and many other words.

Pitt as Prime Minister.—At first the House of Commons refused to take Pitt seriously. Fox, Burke, and North assailed him without mercy; and when he retorted hotly, they called him the "angry boy." During the first three months after he took office he was defeated sixteen times in the House of Commons. The king, it was urged, should dismiss a minister in a minority, but both the king and Pitt read public opinion accurately. In a lax age Pitt was pure, and careless of his own gain, and with justice the country came quickly to see that he was an unselfish patriot. He remained poor all his days. Soon after he took office a sinecure of three thousand pounds a year fell within his gift. His father had held it, and every one supposed that he would take it himself, but he gave it to Colonel Barré, who had played a worthy part in politics, but who was now poor and blind. Friends once offered Pitt a gift of one

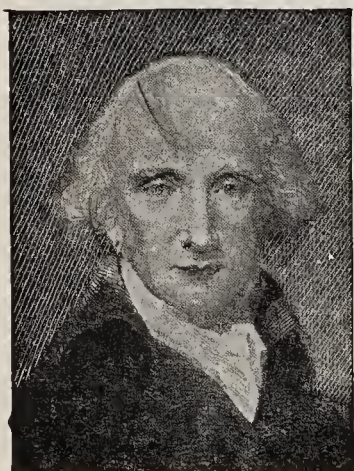
hundred thousand pounds; the king made a similar offer of thirty thousand pounds; but he rejected both. Yet bailiffs sometimes seized his house for debt, and he died a bankrupt. This complete disinterestedness impressed the people, accustomed to the jobbery of the Whig families.

Parliament was dissolved in March, 1784, and, after the election, people talked jestingly of Fox's martyrs, for a hundred and sixty of his supporters lost their seats. Pitt's triumph was complete, and, but for Ireland, secure for the remainder of his life. Critics complained that he was cold and formal in manner; even his bow was stiff and reserved. His ways were despotic, and his colleagues stood in awe of him. Most of them were, indeed, mere dummies obeying a master, and even George III found that, with Pitt in office, it was nearly always the minister, and not the king, who ruled. Pride was, perhaps, Pitt's dominant characteristic—pride in his own rectitude and ability, linked with scorn of intriguing backstairs methods. To the king Pitt was always deferential, but he showed his disdain of the old aristocracy by almost swamping it with new peers; no fewer than one hundred creations or promotions were due to him; and he frankly said that every one with ten thousand pounds a year ought to be in the House of Lords. Pitt reformed many political abuses. He abolished useless but highly-paid offices. He vastly improved and simplified the daily business of government. Under him at last disappeared corruption, as practised by Walpole and by George III.

Defects in the Government of India.—Fox's India Bill had been thrown out, and the first great problem for Pitt to solve was that of governing India. Clive had won Bengal, not for Britain, but for the East India Company; and through his success the officials of a trading company had come to rule an empire. Even the youngest clerk in the Company's service was a privileged person, exempt from taxation and free to carry on trade on his own account. Without doubt many fortunes were made at this time by

improper means. To end such misdoings and the better to regulate India, the British Parliament had passed, in 1773, an Act, under which the Company's governor of Bengal was to be governor-general, with some authority over all the British posts in India. But he was not to be despotic. He was to sit in a council composed of himself and four other members and was to act on the advice of this body. In accordance with the terms of the Act, Warren Hastings, the able governor of Bengal, had become governor-general in 1773.

The Charges Against Warren Hastings.—The council had not worked well. From the first a majority opposed



WARREN HASTINGS (1732-1818)

Hastings, and one member at least, Sir Philip Francis, charged him with flagrant wrong-doing. Hastings had many difficulties. He could not keep wholly free from a share in native wars, and a crisis came in 1780. A powerful Mussulman leader, Hyder Ali, an adventurer, who never learned to read or write, had made himself the virtual ruler of the great state of Mysore. He formed a league against the British; and the French, now allied with the

revolted colonies of Britain, aided the threatening forces. Hastings promptly occupied the French posts and proved strong enough to drive back Hyder Ali from the very gates of Madras. India was saved; but the cost of continuing the war on Hyder Ali proved heavy, and Hastings was soon hard pressed for money. Undoubtedly he raised in a high-handed manner the revenues necessary for the struggle; but withal he was an able and patriotic statesman, who made Britain's rule in India finally secure in the dark hour when she lost America. Yet stories reached England of the tyranny of

Hastings, of his executing Nuncomar, a Bengalee, who had made charges against him, of his imprisoning two Indian ladies of high rank, the Begums of Oude, and seizing their treasure, and of much else that was lawless and unjust.

In consequence, many believed that the English were ruling India as oriental despots. To make this kind of tyranny no longer possible, the Whigs had sought to give the British Parliament some real control of the country. As Fox's India Bill had been thrown out by the king's influence, Pitt found that he must pass an India Bill of his own. His Bill still provided for a double control of India. The East India Company was to appoint all the officials, except the governor-general and one or two other great officers. But the home government was given control over political affairs and might act on its own account without reference to the Company. The system lasted until it was shown to be inadequate at the time of the terrible Mutiny of 1857. In his Bill Pitt established the principle, so detested by the king, that Parliament should have authority in India. The Whigs, however, were angry that the more thorough-going Bill of Fox had been rejected. Francis was now in England, with dark tales of the misdoings of Hastings in India, and this alleged tyranny inflamed the mind of Edmund Burke, the most eloquent and fervid of the Whig leaders. It was decided to bring charges against Hastings in Parliament. Accordingly, soon after he returned to England, he was impeached by an overwhelming vote of the House of Commons, even Pitt supporting the attack. The trial before the House of Lords began in 1788 and lasted for



EDMUND BURKE (1729-1797)

seven years. Hastings was acquitted. But the long trial had a good effect; above all, it made clear that those who went out to rule India would be sternly judged at home for their conduct. India was to have the best that British justice could give.

2. THE OUTBREAK OF REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

Pitt's Relations with France.—The course of Pitt's policy was affected by two changes. In 1788 it became clear that the mind of George III was unbalanced. At the time it seemed that he might never recover his reason, and as a regent was inevitable, there was keen discussion as to whether the young Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV, should be regent. He was a vicious dandy, unfit in character for any great office, and deeply distrusted by the nation. For the time the king recovered, but the madness returned at intervals, and George was made Prince Regent. The uncertain state of the king's mind caused Pitt to be yielding to him in his sane intervals, with fatal effect at times, as we shall see in the case of Ireland. From France, however, came the chief cause of change in Pitt. Ever since Julius Cæsar made both Britain and France Roman provinces, the two countries have had close relations, and for the most part the story is one of repeated wars. In 1763 Britain had forced France to yield all that she held in North America, while in 1783 France had helped to force Britain to accept the loss of her own American colonies. Each nation had thus been victor, and it appeared as if their future relations were to be happier, when, soon after the peace of 1783, Pitt, who accepted the doctrines of free trade in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, proposed a commercial treaty with France. Fox, illiberal for once, said that the effort was useless: France would always be Britain's enemy. Pitt's answer was that nations do well to forget past strife, and, in spite of acute difficulties in both countries, the treaty was signed in 1786. Then French wines entered Britain freely, while British manufactures

went to France, and trade began to flourish. The outlook was bright for prolonged peace.

The States-General in France.—France, however, was on the eve of a convulsion. She had no Parliament which made the laws and voted the taxes of the nation. Laws were made and taxes imposed by royal decree. The American War had added to France's heavy debt, and by 1788 the financial crisis was acute. The church, holding vast possessions in land, claimed exemption from direct taxation. The nobles made a similar claim. Thus it was left to the Third Estate, consisting of all but the clergy and the nobility, to carry a burden growing always heavier. In 1788 Necke, the minister in charge of finance, asked clergy and nobles to consent to new taxes. When they demurred, the cry arose for the States-General. In the distant past the king had called together this body, consisting of the Three Estates—the Clergy, the Nobles, and the Third Estate—to give counsel in times of need. It had not met for one hundred and seventy-five years, but now it was summoned. Each order elected its own representatives, and there was keen excitement when they met at Versailles in May, 1789. At once the Third Estate took the lead. The three chambers were merged into one, under the name of the National Assembly, and this body quickly assumed control of France and began to prepare a new constitution.

The Progress of Revolution in France.—France moved rapidly toward extreme change. On October 1st, 1791, the new constitution came into operation. The official head of the state was still the king, but the new legislature, consisting of a single chamber with seven hundred and fifty members, had great power and was restless and aggressive. As the event proved, the monarchy was doomed. The Queen of Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, was an Austrian princess. As a result, without doubt, of some secret appeal from the French king, Austria and Prussia united, in April, 1792, in making war on revolutionary France in order to save the monarchy. Their armies soon crossed the French

frontier, and the commander, the Duke of Brunswick, issued a menacing declaration that, if any harm should happen to the king and queen, he would destroy Paris. It was a tactless threat. The French answered by a national levy for defence, and in August, 1792, they imprisoned the king and the queen and called a Convention to prepare a second constitution which would inevitably be republican. During the elections a mob in Paris, unchecked by the guardians of order, seized suspected royalists held in the prisons and butchered more than one thousand, some of them persons of rank.

The French Republic.—When the Convention met in the same month, it declared France a republic and announced to the world its hatred of the rule of monarchs. It tried the king for treason, and in January, 1793, beheaded him, to the amazement and horror of Europe. A few months later the republican factions, Girondins and Jacobins, were warring on each other. Danton and Robespierre were in the front as Jacobin leaders, and the chief Girondins, some of them men of wide culture, were executed. The Convention named a Committee of Public Safety to govern France, and from September, 1793, to July, 1794, this despotic Committee carried on deliberately a Reign of Terror. The plan was to have executions every day, in order that the spectacle of this ruthlessness might cause a paralysis of fear in all opponents. The Terror grew in intensity. In its later stages forty or fifty persons were sent daily to the guillotine. Reaction against such extremes was inevitable. But when Danton began to favour moderation, Robespierre struck him down in April, 1794. Only at the end of July, 1794, did the Committee of Public Safety turn on Robespierre himself and destroy him. On a single day eighty-three of his supporters went to the scaffold. Then from 1795 to 1799, France had a new government called the Directory. For stability she needed a dictator, and in 1799 he appeared in the person of Napoleon Bonaparte.

War with France 1793-1802; 1803-1815.—For some years Britain was unmoved by the changes in France. In our own time we have seen revolution of an extreme type in Russia, and doubts as to the attitude which outside nations should assume to such events. On the question whether Britain could keep out of war with France in revolution, British opinion was sharply divided. Fox, generous and impulsive, declared that the revolution was the most glorious event in the history of mankind. His friend, Burke, however, steeped in the traditions of monarchy, made himself the spokesman of the wrongs of those who suffered so terribly. His protests became the more passionate when Queen Marie Antoinette was executed in October, 1793. At first Pitt took the view that the revolution was merely a domestic affair in France, and that Britain had no right to object to the form of government which the French might decide to adopt. Axious to reform British finance, and requiring peace for this purpose, he surveyed the turmoil calmly, not expecting to be drawn into it. But when, in 1792, the French Republic declared itself ready to war on all monarchies, Pitt was aroused. Later, France interfered in Holland and refused to recognize the right of that country to shut out French trade from the river Scheldt. This right Britain had guaranteed, and in 1792 she regarded French dominance in the Low Countries as dangerous as, in a later age, in 1914, modern Britain regarded that of Germany. A final breach soon came. When Louis XVI was executed Pitt recalled the British ambassador who had been accredited to that king, and in February, 1793, France declared war.

The Effect of the War on Pitt's Policy.—From the vortex of this war Pitt never emerged, and it changed the whole character of his policy. He had no love of war. Many Whigs, led by Burke, now agreed with the Tories that war was necessary. The war, indeed, broke up the Whig party. Great Whig land-owners feared the revolution as an attack on property. Pitt was, indeed, supported by a coalition

of Whigs and Tories, and he came to be considered a war-like minister. In time he was filled with such horror of revolution that, to check sympathy with France, he applied coercion with great severity. During many years, from 1794 onwards, he kept the Habeas Corpus Act suspended, and he threw men into prison for unguarded words. One Hudson, for toasting the French Revolution, was fined two hundred pounds and sent to prison for two years. The war cost great sums. In 1797 the Bank of England was obliged to stop cash payments, and both liberty and financial credit were, Fox said, on the verge of ruin in England.

3. THE FIRST STAGES OF THE WAR WITH FRANCE

The Victories of France on Land.—The shifting scenes of a war which endured for more than twenty years can be barely mentioned here. For a long time it seemed like war between an elephant and a whale. The adversaries could not reach each other. On land France long had the advantage, while on the sea Britain won repeated victories and secured the command of the sea which, in the end, was decisive. The French Republic declared itself the champion of liberty in Europe. To mark this, it even abandoned the old mode of reckoning dates by the Christian year and made the birthday of the Republic the first day of the first year of a new era. In 1793 Britain, Spain, Holland, Austria, and Prussia formed against France what is known as the First Coalition. But the French won many successes. By 1794 they had made Belgium an integral part of the French Republic. Pitt could not hold together the Coalition. Prussia played a selfish game. In 1795 she joined Russia and Austria in taking what was left of Poland after two previous partitions (in 1772 and 1793), and in the same year she made a separate peace with France. So also did Spain. The successes of the French multiplied. In 1795 they overran Holland, which became the Batavian Republic. They sent to Italy in 1796 a rising young soldier of whom we shall hear much—Napoleon Bonaparte. There he

defeated the forces of Austria, turned part of Northern Italy into what was called the Cisalpine Republic, and forced Austria to sign the Peace of Campo Formio in 1797, which made France dominant in Italy. Britain was left to face France alone.

British Victories on the Sea.—Separated by a strip of sea from the continent, Britain could be reached only by a superior fleet. Not until after the battle of Trafalgar in 1805, did she become the unrivalled mistress of the seas, which she has remained to our own time, and France had hopes of success on the sea as well as on the land. But as soon as the war was well begun, Britain showed a strength and daring in naval warfare that baffled her foes. On June 1st, 1794, Lord Howe, now nearly seventy, met a French fleet in the Channel, off Ushant, and completely shattered it. Yet France was still formidable on the sea. By her control of Holland, and by an alliance made in 1796 with Spain, she was enabled to direct against Britain the navies of three states. British fleets had to be on the watch in many quarters. They guarded the Channel and the Mediterranean and blockaded hostile ports. While the enemy lay securely at anchor in their harbours, British ships were at sea for months, ever on the look-out, and facing all kinds of weather. It was hard and wearing work, but it had its reward in giving officers and men a training in the handling of their ships that made them the most efficient seamen afloat.

Battle of Cape St. Vincent, 1797.—In 1797 France was preparing a crushing naval attack, by uniting the three fleets to carry an invading army to Britain. It failed, because Admiral Sir John Jervis attacked the Spanish fleet before it could unite with the French. Among his officers was a brilliant commodore, Horatio Nelson, whose daring aided largely in winning a complete victory off Cape St. Vincent on February 16th. For this victory Jervis was made Earl St. Vincent. Nelson's own day was to come later.

Mutiny at Spithead and the Nore, 1797.—The outbreak of mutiny not long after the victory of Jervis threatened the very existence of Britain's power on the sea. The sailors who manned her ships led, in any case, a rough life, but they were made to suffer needless hardships. Some of them had been seized and forced to serve by what were known as press gangs, sent out to carry off men for the fleet wherever they could find them. The food provided on the ships was often unpalatable. The pay, a miserable pittance, remained what it had been in the time of Charles II. With it the sailors could hardly provide for their own wants, and their families were left to starve. The sick were badly cared for, and when a man was wounded and thus unfitted for duty, his pay was stopped. Flogging and other brutal punishments were inflicted for slight offences; one witness saw a seaman receive three dozen lashes for "silent contempt;" that is, for venturing to smile after he had had a flogging. It is little wonder that mutiny broke out at Spithead in the spring of 1797. But reforms were quickly promised, and the men returned to duty. At the Nore, however, the situation was more serious. The men took possession of the ships of the fleet, partially blockaded the Thames, and cut off supplies of coal from London. For a time there was danger that the fleet might be taken to a French port by the mutineers and used against Britain. In the West Indies the men of a British man-of-war murdered their ten officers and handed over the ship to the Spaniards. Most of the mutineers, however, returned in the end to their duty. Some of the ringleaders at the Nore were hanged, a hard fate indeed, for they voiced real grievances. But from this time the lot of the sailor was improved.

Battle of Camperdown, 1797.—While the mutiny was going on, Admiral Duncan had been blockading a powerful Dutch fleet in the Texel in Holland. When most of his ships deserted him to join the mutiny at the Nore, he kept on actively signalling from his one ship, to make the Dutch

believe that the rest of the fleet was near. In time his ships rejoined him. Then, in October, 1797, when the Dutch fleet sailed out with an army to invade Ireland, Duncan attacked and defeated it off Camperdown, thus, in spite of dangerous mutiny, adding a second great victory to the record of the British navy for the year.

Bonaparte in Egypt, 1798-99.—At the end of 1797, France and Britain seemed unable to strike each other. France held Western Europe in her grip, but she could not reach across the Channel to England. By this time was coming to the front a soldier of genius, destined to be perhaps the greatest military figure in history. Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) was not French, but Italian in blood, a native of Corsica. This Italian island had been a restless dependency of the weak Republic of Genoa, which in 1768 sold it to France. After hard fighting France made good her claim. The Bonaparte family became in this way French. Napoleon was educated in a French military school, but he always spoke the French language with a foreign accent. His victories in Italy in 1797 made for him a great reputation, but when peace came with Austria, he lacked a field for his energies. England could not be reached directly across the Strait of Dover, and Bonaparte planned an indirect blow at her empire. In India some of the native princes were jealous of the growing power of the British. A skilful leader might do what Dupleix had tried to do—he might organize native forces against the British. This Bonaparte decided to attempt. He, therefore, resolved to occupy Egypt and thus to secure a base from which he could attack Britain in the East. The corrupt Directory was not unwilling to have him out of the way. In May, 1798, he set out from Toulon, with a great fleet of about four hundred sail and with nearly fifty thousand men.

The Battle of the Nile.—Horatio Nelson (1758-1805), the most famous and the most beloved of English sailors, was now forty years old and had seen service on many seas.

Simplicity of character and courage were his most striking characteristics, and, like Fox, he was beloved by all who knew him. In 1794 he had lost an eye in a battle in Corsica, which led to the reduction of that island by the British. Soon after, in 1797, he played a brilliant part in the Battle of St. Vincent, and he lost his right arm in a fight for a Spanish treasure-ship at Vera Cruz. From April, 1798, he was on guard at Toulon, watching for the French fleet, but by some strange mischance it eluded him and reached Egypt. Napoleon's army landed in safety and was soon in possession of the country. But the French fleet could not escape Nelson. It lay at anchor near the shore in Aboukir Bay, one of the mouths of the Nile, when, after a long chase, Nelson came up on August 1st, 1798. Though it was evening he attacked at once, in order to take the enemy unprepared. The usual practice was for hostile fleets to engage each other in parallel lines. Nelson, however, sent some of his ships through the middle of the enemy's line. They then poured in their fire on the French from the shoreward side, while other ships attacked from the seaward side at the same time. The fire of the British was terrific, and their victory was complete. The French fleet was almost wholly destroyed, and a great French army was left cut off completely from communication with France—a vivid demonstration of the importance of sea power. In the end, the remnant of this army was carried back in British ships as prisoners of war.

The Second Coalition, 1799.—Nelson's destruction of the French fleet in Egypt seemed to effect two things—to make England secure from invasion, and to leave stranded in Egypt, with no prospect of returning to Europe, a great French army and the most formidable of French generals. Bonaparte was resourceful. He overran Egypt and then invaded Syria, but was checked by the stubborn Turkish defence of Acre. In his mind was the thought that he might be a second Alexander the Great and conquer in the remote East. In far India, Tippoo, son of Hyder Ali, who

had fought Warren Hastings with French help, was now in rebellion, and Bonaparte sent word that he was coming to India. But to do so he must either go by sea, and he had no fleet, or march overland across Mesopotamia. Meanwhile, on May 4th, 1799, Tippoo was killed, when the British took by storm his capital, Seringapatam. Then the mind of Bonaparte turned to the west, and he thought of seizing Constantinople and of marching from there to take Europe in the rear, as he put it. His ambition was boundless. Meanwhile, Pitt formed with Austria, Russia, Portugal, Turkey, and Naples, the Second Coalition.

Napoleon Bonaparte, Master of France.—The five Directors who governed France were quarrelling among themselves, and some of them were corrupt. Soon France, already beaten on the sea, was losing also on land. Her armies had made themselves hated, by ruthlessly plundering conquered territory. Now they were driven out of Italy across the Alps, from western Germany across the Rhine, and in Holland were unsafe. To add to the uneasiness in France, the Directory commanded no confidence. An allied march on Paris was possible, and France longed for a leader whom she could trust. Bonaparte, meanwhile, was cut off from direct communication with France. The British had news, and from newspapers supplied by the courtesy of the British admiral, Sir Sidney Smith, Bonaparte now learned in Egypt of the reverses of France. "If my country needs me, I will return," he had said on leaving France. Now he abandoned his army, trusted himself to a single ship, and, with amazing good fortune, landed in France in October, 1799. His welcome was ecstatic. Within a few weeks he had overturned the Directory and set up a new constitution, with himself supreme as First Consul. France had, at last, found a leader and a master.

The Peace of Amiens, 1802.—The return of Bonaparte ended the series of French reverses and broke up the Second Coalition. In 1800 Bonaparte went to Italy and restored French dominance by his great victory at Marengo.

Moreau led a second French army into Germany and defeated the Austrians at Hohenlinden. The astounding result was that, in 1801, Austria made at Lunéville a peace which gave France the left bank of the Rhine. Russia abandoned the Coalition, because her insane Emperor Paul now became the fervent admirer of Bonaparte, who knew how to flatter him. Again was Britain left alone, and after nine years of war, her people longed for peace. There was rebellion in Ireland in 1798. The harvest of 1800 was bad. Trade and agriculture were staggering under a heavy burden of taxes. For the time it seemed hopeless to think of overturning the supremacy of France on the continent. Before the year 1801 ended, terms were agreed to, and in 1802 Britain and France signed the Peace of Amiens. France retained all her conquests in Europe. Britain retained some, but not all, of the conquests due to her fleet—Ceylon in the East Indies and Trinidad in the West Indies. Though she rejoiced at the Peace, it yielded much to France and left Bonaparte certain that by another stroke he could ruin Britain. He went on with preparations for the renewed war which came in 1803. It was not Pitt, but his successor, Addington, who made the Peace. In 1801 Pitt retired from office because of the events in Ireland to which we now turn.

4. THE UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The Condition of Ireland.—In nearly every crisis in the modern history of England, the problem of Ireland has become acute. In the period of the great civil war, Strafford's plan of "Thorough" in Ireland menaced the liberty of England. Later, rebellion and unrest in Ireland led to the ruthless mastery of Oliver Cromwell. Bitter memories still remain of the struggles forty years after this between the Roman Catholic Stuart king, James II, and the Protestant William of Orange, which caused civil war in Ireland and resulted in the defeat of James at the Battle of the Boyne. The unrest of Ireland was largely due to

the dominance of a minority of Protestants, many of them large land-owners, over the Roman Catholic population which tilled the land. As a rule, the Roman Catholic peasant could rent but a small holding and remained in a condition of grinding poverty. He had no vote. Since there were almost no schools, his children grew up in careless ignorance. Ireland had her Parliament, but it represented only the Protestant minority; in it no Roman Catholic sat. Yet the members were, after all, Irishmen. The laws which oppressed Ireland oppressed them, too. They might not send to England cattle, sheep, or pigs, alive or dead; they might not even send butter and cheese, lest the English farmer should have competitors. Ireland might not export woollen goods, even to a foreign country, lest English manufacturers should suffer from her rivalry. Her trade with the English colonies was restricted in the same way. These limitations bore heavily on Protestant and Roman Catholic alike. Only one manufacture—the linen industry—was left unchecked and allowed to flourish in Ireland.

The Demand of Ireland for Independence.—As time went on, the sense of grievance became more marked. The American Revolution had brought it to a head. When the Americans took up arms against oppression by Great Britain, the Irish began to think of a similar remedy for their own grievances. They suffered from the war, since it ruined, for the time, their one prosperous trade, that in linen. Thousands lost their employment, and the distress was soon acute. A cry arose for the opening of new markets to Ireland by the freeing of her trade. Of course, the demand was angrily opposed by the trading interests in England. The Irish, however, were now in earnest. On the pretext that the regular troops were employed elsewhere and that the country was defenceless against foreign attack, they began to arm. Volunteering became fashionable; eighty thousand volunteers were under arms in Ireland. They were all Protestants; as the law stood, no Roman Catholic might bear arms.

The Independence of Ireland Secured, 1782.—Henry Grattan, a man of high character and great eloquence, took the lead in the demand for liberty for Ireland. The first step was to secure free trade. In 1779 the Irish Parliament passed an address demanding this reform, and presented it to the lord-lieutenant, with a display of armed force intended to be threatening. In consequence, the British Parliament passed Acts, in 1780, removing most of the restrictions on Irish trade. But this was not enough. Under Poynings' Law and later Acts, the British Parliament had the right to legislate for Ireland, and, as long as this was the case, might impose new restrictions. Step by step Grattan now moved toward his goal of complete independence for the Irish Parliament. England, at war in Europe and America, was in no position to resist, and by 1782 he had gained his end. The Irish Parliament repealed all laws admitting control by England, and the British Parliament passed an Act renouncing any claim to legislate for Ireland. At last Ireland seemed to be free. But only the Protestant element was really free. The poverty-stricken Irish peasant still paid the tithe to support a church regarded by him as heretical. Though four-fifths of Ireland was Roman Catholic, no Roman Catholic sat in Parliament. Moreover, the British cabinet still named the lord-lieutenant, who carried on the government of Ireland, and who, if Parliament were troublesome, might, in those corrupt days, buy up a majority. All was not clear sailing for Grattan's Parliament. In time it might have done well, but time was not given. The French Revolution brought upheaval to Ireland, as to every other country in Europe.

Votes Granted to Roman Catholics in Ireland, 1793.—The founding of a French republic inspired some Irish patriots with the hope of an Irish republic and of getting rid of the tie with England. Of this Irish republican party the chief leader was Theobald Wolfe Tone, a young lawyer of great ability. He was a Protestant, but he hoped to unite Roman Catholics and dissenting Protestants into

one party, in order to free both from the dominance of the state church. In 1791 he founded the Society of United Irishmen. It was soon clear that concessions must be made to them; and in 1793, at Pitt's insistence, the Irish Parliament yielded to Roman Catholics the right to vote on the terms granted to Protestants, and removed most of their disabilities. One great disability remained; though a Roman Catholic might vote, he might not sit in Parliament, and persons of that faith were shut out from any share in the government.

The Orangemen and the Irish Rebellion, 1798.—Even a measure of relief so limited alarmed Protestants, and in 1795 the society known as the Orangemen was founded, in order to check concessions to Roman Catholics. Many of the leading gentlemen of Ireland joined the Orangemen, and soon there was bitter strife between them and the United Irishmen. In 1796, Wolfe Tone, in danger of being arrested and executed for treason, took refuge in France, where he urged the invasion of Ireland. He succeeded so well that in December, 1796, a great fleet, with twenty thousand men under General Hoche, sailed from Brest for Ireland. It was, however, dispersed by storms and did nothing. British victories on the sea in 1797, and especially that at Camperdown, defeated further plans for invasion, and since, in the next year, it was Egypt, not Ireland, that the French were planning to invade, Wolfe Tone could get little help. At last, in 1798, the United Irishmen broke out in insurrection and were aided by a small French army, which succeeded in landing. Religious hostility embittered the war, and each side committed brutal atrocities against the other. The rebel movement, however, failed completely. Regular troops took by storm the camp of the rebels at Vinegar Hill, and the French army was forced to surrender. Wolfe Tone, captured while serving with the French army, was tried and sentenced to be hanged, but escaped this fate by suicide. The plan to form an Irish republic had failed dismally.

The Irish Union, 1801.—The Irish problem still remained unsolved. Pitt, having studied the union with Scotland and the unexampled prosperity of that country since union had come about, persuaded himself that union with Ireland would also produce good results. He did not fail to see that, while the Scots were chiefly Protestant, the Irish were chiefly Roman Catholic, and, accordingly, he planned that full political rights should be given to Roman Catholics and that their payment of tithes to support an Anglican church in Ireland should cease. It was necessary to gain a majority in the Irish Parliament. Pitt sent over Lord



1. England



3. Great Britain



5. Great Britain and Ireland



2. Scotland



4. Ireland

THE UNION FLAG

Cornwallis, the general who had surrendered at Yorktown, as lord-lieutenant, and Lord Castlereagh as secretary, to bring about the union. But Irish national feeling, especially among the Protestants, was against union, and at first the Irish Parliament rejected the plan. Then Castlereagh prepared to buy a majority. In Ireland, as in England, many "pocket-boroughs" existed, in which a single person had the power to name the two members for a borough. The right to sell the nomination was openly recognized, and the owner would have been indignant if, for doing this, he was accused of corruption. In eighty

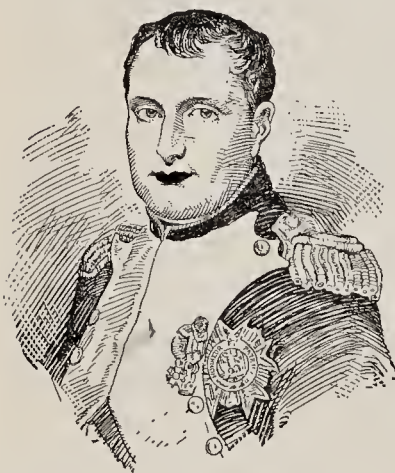
boroughs Pitt bought, at fifteen thousand pounds apiece, this right of nominating the members, and added the price to the national debt. In some cases Castlereagh secured votes for the union by the promise of peerages. He also obtained support by menacing with dismissal the one hundred and seventy members of the Irish Parliament who held office at the discretion of the government. When such influences were used, it is not strange that, in 1800, the Irish Parliament voted for the union, which took effect on January 1st, 1801. One hundred members from Ireland were to sit in the British House of Commons; and four Irish bishops and twenty-eight Irish peers, chosen for life by their fellow-peers, were to sit in the House of Lords. The Irish people were never asked to vote on the question of union. The measure was carried by a Parliament the members of which were bought for the purpose. There was not even a new election of the Irish members who went to the British Parliament; those who were sent to London had been members of the former Irish House of Commons.

Retirement of Pitt, 1801.—The Irish union brought in its wake the retirement of Pitt. His agents had promised relief to the Roman Catholics, but the plan aroused George III. The king believed that the terms of his coronation oath made him the special champion of the Protestant faith, and would not hear of concessions that might endanger its supremacy. Using his favourite phrase, he said that he should regard as his personal enemy any one proposing such concessions. Pitt was bound in honour to stand by what had been promised in his name, and in 1801 he resigned. Soon George III was seized with an attack that once more unbalanced his mind, and, when restored, he declared that it was anxiety on this question which had brought on the illness. When Pitt learned this, he wrote promising that never again would he disturb George's mind on these points. Unhappily, he kept a promise that should never have been made. From the first, union with Ireland was unblessed in this sense, that the pledges to the Roman

Catholics were broken. They could not sit in Parliament; and they still had to pay tithes to keep up a state church which they hated. In time both causes of injustice were removed, but not before the iron had entered into the soul of a people who felt that they had been duped.

5. THE STRUGGLE WITH NAPOLEON

Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul, 1800; Emperor, 1804.—The lion, Pitt, was followed by a lamb. Addington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth, took office at the express wish of George III, who spoke of him as “my own” minister. He was kindly and high-minded, but commonplace. The brilliant Fox jeered at him; when warned that attacks on Addington might bring back Pitt, Fox answered: “I can’t



NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821)

bear fools, anything but fools.” Yet Addington remained prime minister for three years. They were momentous years in Europe. The great organizing genius of Bonaparte was in its fresh vigour. France had had a long orgy of talk about liberty, the rights of the people, the baneful evil of tyranny; now, Bonaparte said, the time had come for reconciliation, for all, whether republicans or royalists, to work together and to give prosperity and glory to France. He scoffed at democracy. He was, indeed, so little of a democrat that he intended to be a despotic monarch. In 1802 he became First Consul for life, and in 1804, with France, on the whole, applauding, he became Emperor of the French and created a Bonaparte dynasty. Henceforth he was known as Napoleon, as the Bourbon ruler had been called Louis. He created a new nobility.

His dukes and princes surrounded him in a court as formal as that of the old dynasties. He was a brilliant and successful soldier, but he was more than this. He had a genius for social reform, and France soon felt his touch in every department of her life. Finance, education, relations with the church, the laws, all these, and much more, he re-adjusted with daring insight.

The Renewal of War 1803-1815.—The Peace of Amiens was only a truce. Britain accepted it, because her people were weary of war and saw no hope in continuing the struggle against a foe as strong as Napoleon. By the treaty she was to give up Malta, which she had occupied since 1800, and she disliked losing an island needed for her influence in the Mediterranean. Napoleon, for his part, had no thought of pausing in his ambition. His genius, he felt, could reorganize and dominate Europe, shaken by war and revolution. The power which stood across his path was Britain. Could he strike her down, France might lead the world. Both sides were suspicious and restless, and war began again in 1803. Soon it was clear that a stronger hand than Addington's was needed at the helm, and in 1804 Pitt became prime minister for the brief span of life that remained to him.

The Battle of Trafalgar, 1805.—Napoleon was now resolved to strike a final deadly blow at Britain. He made at Boulogne a great camp of one hundred and thirty thousand men, whom he intended to carry across the Channel. They were to be embarked in small boats protected by a French fleet, and they would be able, he hoped, to cross the Channel within twenty-four hours. Of course, there was the British fleet to reckon with. This fleet had reached a high degree of efficiency, by keeping at sea to blockade the French ports and to hold the ships of the enemy inactive there. Napoleon now thought that a union of the French and Spanish fleets might enable him to effect his purpose. There was danger to Britain in this union, and Nelson was, accordingly, sent to blockade Toulon, where the French fleet lay. At this

time he wrote: "If I am to watch the French, I must be at sea; and, if at sea, must have bad weather; and if the ships are not fit to stand bad weather, they are useless." For two long years he held to this dreary task, buffeted by storms as he lay out in the open sea, not once in all that time putting his foot on land.

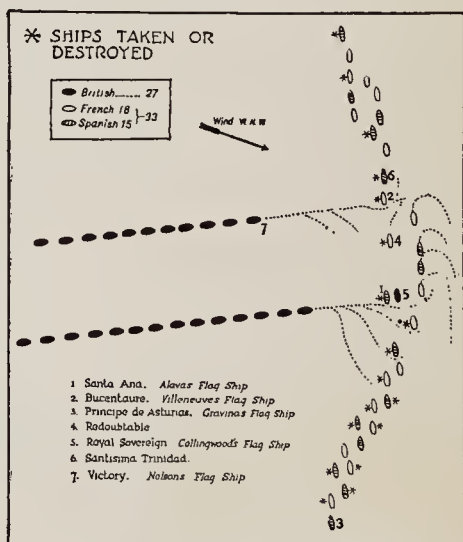


HORATIO, VISCOUNT NELSON
(1758-1805)

away with them across the Atlantic. The plan was that this combined fleet should go to the West Indies, then double back to Europe, where, before Nelson could come up with it, it would be able to protect the French army in crossing to England. Though delayed at

first by false intelligence, Nelson set out in hot pursuit. The enemy could not shake him off. He went across the Atlantic to the West Indies and back again, and at last, on October 21st, 1805, he attacked the combined fleets, under Napoleon's admiral, Villeneuve, off Cape Trafalgar, not far from Gibraltar. This was the crowning struggle for control of the sea. The French and Spanish sailors, long idle in their blockaded ports, were no match for the hardy British, who

In the end, too, it seemed as if his long watch had failed; for in the summer of 1805 the French fleet slipped out, joined some Spanish ships lying at Cadiz, and sailed



PLAN OF THE ATTACK AT THE BATTLE
OF TRAFALGAR

found, moreover, a brilliant leader in Nelson. He had fewer ships, but the British won a great victory, a victory linked, however, with the supreme cost of the life of Nelson. The last fleet that could meet the British was now destroyed. Trafalgar left Britain the mistress of the seas.

Napoleon's Victory at Austerlitz, 1805.—Pitt, like the whole nation, sorrowed for the great sailor. A few days after the victory, speaking at the Guildhall, Pitt said: "Let us hope that England, having saved herself by her energy, may save Europe by her example." But Europe seemed lost. Before Trafalgar was fought, Napoleon had seen that the plan to invade England was doomed and had turned on other enemies. In 1804 he had kidnapped a Bourbon prince, the Duc d'Enghien, living across the French frontier in Germany, and had shot this innocent man merely because he was the kinsman of other Bourbons engaged in hostile plots. Napoleon's own mother condemned the brutal deed in strong terms. It incensed the Czar of Russia, Alexander I, against him, and it enabled Pitt to make an alliance with both Russia and Austria. This was his Third Coalition, destined like the two earlier ones to be ruined by the military genius of Napoleon. To meet the danger, Napoleon gave up, for the time at least, the plan of invading England, and in the autumn of 1805 he rapidly marched across France, to attack Austria, the great army gathered at Boulogne. His success was complete. The Austrian general, Mack, was caught unready at Ulm, on the Upper Danube, and, three days before Trafalgar, surrendered with some forty thousand men. Napoleon occupied Vienna, and on December 2nd, fought the Austrian and Russian emperors at Austerlitz and won an overwhelming victory. The Russians fell back toward their own country, but Austria made the Peace of Pressburg, which gave Napoleon a free hand in Germany and left him the real master of continental Europe.

Death of Pitt, 1806.—Austerlitz killed Pitt. It seemed to make vain the victory at Trafalgar. Pitt was ailing and

had gone to Bath for a change. There the shock of the fatal news prostrated him. A few weeks of life remained, but death was in his face—the “Austerlitz look,” as his friend Wilberforce called it. He travelled wearily to London. When he entered his villa at Putney, his eye fell upon a map of Europe. “Roll up that map,” he said, “it will not be wanted these ten years.” On January 23rd, 1806, he died, with a lament for his country upon his lips. To many it seemed as if Pitt’s whole career had been a deplorable failure. No doubt under him domestic reform stood still; and on this ground Fox refused to support a motion in Parliament declaring the dead leader an “excellent statesman.” Yet the purity of Pitt’s conduct, the higher tone which he gave to English public life, his strength and courage in an era of unparalleled danger, all mark him as a really great force in the history of his country.

Death of Fox while Foreign Secretary, 1806.—The king had declared that never again would he accept Fox as minister. But now he bowed to the inevitable. In a crisis so supreme there was no place for petty animosity. Lord Grenville gathered together a group of able men, and in this “Ministry of All the Talents” Fox took charge of foreign affairs. He had long protested against the war, but soon, like Pitt, he saw that the ambition of Napoleon was insatiable, and that until he was checked there was no liberty for Europe. But Fox, too, died in 1806, a few months after Pitt. He was true to himself to the end. Almost his last words in Parliament were against the slave trade, which was abolished in the following year, 1807. He and Pitt lie close together in Westminster Abbey. Sir Walter Scott’s beautiful lament for Pitt applies to them both :

Now is the stately column broke,
The beacon-light is quenched in smoke,
The trumpet’s silver sound is still,
The warder silent on the hill.

The Treaty of Tilsit, 1807.—With Austria completely crushed, Napoleon seemed able to do what he liked. During ten years of inglorious neutrality Prussia had held aloof from war since she abandoned Austria in 1795. Now she was hoping that Napoleon would carry out a promise to let her take Hanover, of which George III was ruler. But in 1806, Prussia saw that she had been the dupe of 1. Napoleon. He violated her neutrality by marching troops across her territory, and he was offering terms to Britain 2. which would guarantee her king's rights over Hanover. Prussia had boasted that even alone she could vanquish France. Had not her great king, Frederick the Great, made her a mighty military state? But when she declared war in 1806, she fell quickly, as Austria had fallen in the previous year. In October Napoleon inflicted on her on one day the two overwhelming defeats of Jena and Auerstädt. The whole system built up by Frederick the Great came tumbling down. Napoleon occupied Berlin and then advanced to meet the Russians, who still kept the field. He defeated them in June, 1807, at Friedland, which, with Austerlitz and Jena, makes a wonderful trio of victories. Now, at last, he and the Czar Alexander agreed to discuss terms of peace. So little did one leader trust the other that they met near Tilsit on a raft in the middle of the river Niemen, in sight of the two armies, but in a position where neither ruler could seize the other. There they agreed on the Peace of Tilsit, signed in July, 1807. Alexander was to be allowed to occupy Finland—then a part of Sweden—and to do what he liked against Turkey. In return he agreed to support Napoleon in his aim to ruin Great Britain. "I hate the English as much as you do," said this former ally of Britain to Napoleon. Such was the end of Pitt's Third Coalition. After this Britain made no more formal coalitions, but she spent great sums in helping continental states to arm against Napoleon.

Napoleon, Master of Europe.—The Treaty of Tilsit seemed to leave Europe within Napoleon's grasp. In 1806

he had obliged Francis II of Austria to abandon the old title of Roman-Emperor, which Charlemagne had held, and which meant a claim to sovereignty in temporal affairs as universal as the spiritual sovereignty claimed by the Roman pontiff. Napoleon spoke of himself as the successor of Charlemagne. Prussia lost half her territory and was pledged to pay a huge indemnity. He formed all the German states except Prussia and Austria into a new state, the Confederation of the Rhine, of which he was the Protector. He created a new German kingdom of Westphalia, with his brother Jerome as king. Another brother, Louis, became king of Holland, and still another, Joseph, became king, first of Naples, and then of Spain. In 1808 Napoleon gathered at Erfurt, in Germany, a congress of rulers, among them the Czar Alexander of Russia, and he received homage as a king of kings. But the defect of his triumph was that Britain, secure within her sea frontiers, still defied and menaced him.

Napoleon's Continental Policy, 1807.—Napoleon had spent much thought on the best way to humble the island state. He could not strike Britain directly, because of the "strip of inviolate sea" which made her an island; but he saw that Britain was dependent on her foreign trade—"a nation of shop-keepers"—and he reasoned that, if he could shut her out from the markets of Europe, he could bring her to her knees. Her factories would be idle, and her people would starve. For many years he had kept this end in view. Now the time seemed ripe, and in 1806, when he occupied Berlin, he took steps to carry out what he called a Continental Policy. By the Berlin Decree of 1806, Napoleon forbade France and her allies, which now meant practically all of continental Europe, to trade with Britain, and declared any ship engaged in such trade to be a lawful prize of war. To show how entirely in earnest he was, Napoleon now ordered that all goods of British origin should be destroyed, wherever found. By threats he forced the lesser continental nations to join him. In this way

Sweden, Britain's ally, was compelled to put her fleet at his disposal.

Needless to say, Great Britain was not willing to take this outburst meekly; she issued, in 1807, various Orders-in-Council, which forbade the ships of any nation to trade with France and her allies. When Napoleon was about to force Denmark to join him, Canning, the foreign secretary, sent a secret expedition to Copenhagen to demand the surrender of the Danish fleet to Britain's custody until the end of the war. When Denmark resisted, the British fleet bombarded Copenhagen in 1807 and seized the Danish fleet and the supply of naval stores. This was certainly a high-handed proceeding, for Britain was at peace with Denmark; but she was fighting for her life, and it was no time for scruples. On neutral trade both Britain and France placed severe restrictions. As nearly all the nations of Europe were now in one or the other armed camp, the only neutral country greatly affected was the United States; France forbade that young nation to trade with Britain, while Britain forbade it to trade with France, and the result was immense loss to American commerce.

Napoleon enforced his orders with great severity. A year or two of rigour would, he thought, ruin Britain. He made great bonfires of valuable British goods which he was able to seize in continental ports. Britain suffered terribly. A great part of her trade with Europe ceased, and she was forced to seek new and less profitable markets in South America, from which Spain, now in the grip of Napoleon, could no longer exclude her. But if Britain suffered, France and her allies suffered more. The price of goods brought in by sea soared high, and home-keeping Italians and Germans found their coffee and sugar costly, because they were in enforced partnership with Napoleon to ruin Britain. They hated their new master, and if they did not love Britain, they needed the goods which she alone could supply. The traders who brought in such commodities reaped great profits. Officials were obliged to

permit the landing of British manufactures in Europe. Napoleon needed uniforms for his armies, and since British mills did much of the weaving for the world, he was compelled to see his own soldiers wearing British cloth.

The Tories in Power.—Little need be said of the successive English ministries that carried on the struggle with Napoleon. When, in 1807, Grenville proposed what had already been brought about in regard to Ireland—that Roman Catholic officers should be allowed to serve in the army and navy—George III dismissed him angrily. The king was still powerful and obstinate, and the nation shared his prejudices, for an election brought into Parliament a strong Tory majority. No great leaders arose to rank with Pitt. Spencer Perceval became prime minister in 1809, but he was assassinated in 1812 by a madman. After him the Earl of Liverpool took office and remained prime minister for fifteen years. A change of ministry, however, did not involve a change of policy. War was inevitable while Napoleon ruled.

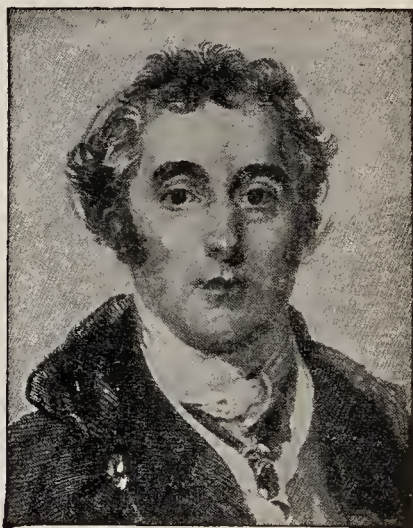
Napoleon Makes His Brother King of Spain, 1807.—In 1807, when Napoleon thought himself on the eve of final triumph, forces were gathering which led in time to his fall. To complete his control of the coast-line, he needed the seaports of Portugal, but this old ally of Britain refused to join him. Accordingly, in 1807, he united with Spain to send an army to coerce Portugal and soon occupied that country. Then he did a foolish thing. He had come to despise the Spaniards and the degenerate Bourbon House which ruled Spain. A Bonaparte, he decided, should rule Spain, in alliance with the imperious Bonaparte who ruled France. In 1808 he menaced Spain with the army of one hundred thousand men which he had sent against Portugal, and obliged the king, Charles IV, and his heir, Ferdinand, to renounce their rights. His brother Joseph, already king of Naples, was now made king of Spain. The Spanish people had no great reason to love their Bourbon rulers, but this high-handed action, which imposed upon them a

foreign ruler, stirred the anger of the proudest nation in Europe. Spain lacked self-discipline and power to wage organized war; her upper classes were corrupt—she was “rotten at the top;” but her peasantry had courage, and they now carried on guerilla warfare against the French with relentless savagery. The Portuguese joined in the same kind of warfare. Such forces could not win battles, but they could inflict serious loss. They murdered French stragglers and butchered the wounded left on the field of battle. Their mountainous country lent itself to such methods, and the French found it hard to punish their elusive foes.

The Peninsular War, 1808–1814.—The resistance to Napoleon in Spain marked the first successful uprising against him. Central Europe was restless under his control, but alone could not shake his power. His danger, as the event proved, was from the two far-separated ends of Europe—from Russia in the north and from Spain in the south. His line was too extended. But until 1812 Russia remained his passive ally. From 1808 onward, Spain, on the other hand, occupied some of his best generals, strained his resources, and gave him no time of peace for recovery. He had three hundred thousand men in Spain when he needed them elsewhere. Spain alone could not throw off his yoke, for she was leaderless and inefficient. It was British sea-power, using the coasts of Britain’s ancient ally, Portugal, which brought Spain effective aid. In 1808 Britain joined in the Peninsular War. She threw men and supplies into the Peninsula and never ceased her effort. But it required six years of stubborn fighting before Napoleon’s armies were finally driven back into France. If the attack was heroic, the defence was skilful and determined.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, 1769–1852.—The Peninsula was the grave of the reputation of Napoleon’s greatest Marshal, Masséna, and it made the fame of Britain’s great leader, Wellington. Napoleon called Mas-

séna "the beloved child of victory," and when the situation began to look serious, sent him to Spain, with the haughty instruction "to drive the English into the sea." Instead, he met more than his match. Sir Arthur Wellesley, who became Duke of Wellington, the first to change the name Wesley to Wellesley, was the son of an Irish peer, the Earl of Mornington. He was educated at Eton, and so believed in the discipline of its sports that, long after, he said that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing-fields at Eton. He served in India from 1796 to 1805. His elder brother, the Marquis Wellesley, the Governor-General, gave the young officer important commands, and it was in India that Wellington mastered the art of war. Oddly enough, he, the victor over France's greatest soldier, Napoleon, had been trained

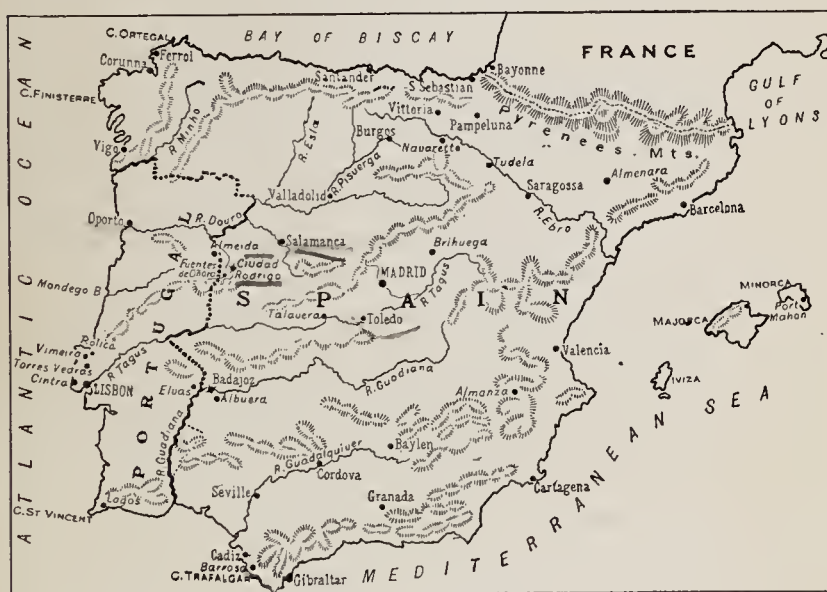


ARTHUR WELLESLEY
DUKE OF WELLINGTON (1769-1852)

in the French military school at Angers. Wellington was an aristocrat, cold and aloof. His men did not love him, but they trusted him. He knew everything about the life of the soldier—the food he required, the load he could carry, the distance he could march, the rest and relaxation he needed. In India Wellington helped to parry the designs of Bonaparte in relation to Tippoo, and when in 1803 war broke out with the Mahrattas in Western and Central India, he broke their power at Assaye, said to be the bloodiest battle ever fought by the British in India. What distinguished Wellington was lucidity of thought, combined with simple honesty of character. Always he kept faith. He made heavy demands on his men. In India he once marched sixty miles in thirty-two hours;

in Spain he stormed fortresses with terrific slaughter. But invariably he had an end which justified his sacrifices.

Sea Power and the Peninsular War.—The Peninsula is a mountainous country. The greater part of its western sea-coast belongs to Portugal, and Lisbon, the capital, lies at the broad mouth of the Tagus River, which flows out of the heart of Spain across Portugal to the sea. The French, from Spain, more than once overran the greater part of Portugal. The problem of the British was to keep secure



THE PENINSULAR WAR

a seaport in Portugal as a basis of supply, and from there to advance into Spain and drive back the enemy across the frontier mountains of the Pyrenees into France. In the end the British made Lisbon an impregnable base, but meanwhile they met with reverses. With nine thousand men Wellington landed at Mondega Bay, about a hundred miles north of Lisbon, early in August, 1808. Before the end of the month he had defeated General Junot in the two battles of Roliga and Vimeiro. But in the moment of

victory, he was superseded in the command by the arrival of a superior officer, Sir Harry Burrard. His blow had been effective for, by the Convention of Cintra, Junot agreed to evacuate Portugal on condition that his army should be taken free to France. Wellington returned in September to England, angry that Junot had been let off so easily. Napoleon himself was now for a time in Spain. The British general, Sir John Moore, was at Salamanca, trying to help the Spaniards. Napoleon easily defeated them and then in overwhelming force turned on Moore, who began a long retreat to the sea at Corunna. He had to fight a daily rearguard battle; his losses were heavy, but he reached Corunna, only to find that the rescuing British fleet had not yet arrived. He turned and defeated, in January, 1809, Napoleon's general, Soult, but was himself killed. The army buried its loved leader at Corunna, on Spanish soil, and then embarked for England, leaving Spain in Napoleon's grasp.

Wellington in the Peninsula.—The British, fighting alone since the Peace of Tilsit, had to think of other scenes of war than Spain. Napoleon had left Soult to deal finally with the retreating British, because startling news called him back to France. Austria was arming, and the British were trying to help her. With the aim of taking Antwerp and detaching Belgium and Holland from France, they equipped an army commanded by Pitt's elder brother, the Earl of Chatham. He was a hesitating leader and had not yet left England when Napoleon's lightning struck. On July 6th, 1809, he gained a great victory over Austria at Wagram, a victory followed by incidents well-suited to comic opera. He had no son, and now, anxious to found a dynasty, he divorced his wife Josephine to wed Marie Louise, the daughter of the beaten Austrian Emperor. Meanwhile, the British army lay at the island of Walcheren, in Holland, which is below the level of the sea. Fever carried off thousands, and, to the fury of the British people, the expedition was fruitless. Wellington now went to the

Peninsula as commander-in-chief. The French were back in Portugal, but he drove them out of Oporto and then advanced rapidly up the valley of the Tagus, and on July 28th, 1809, defeated King Joseph Bonaparte at Talavera, near Madrid. "It appears that this Wellington is a *man*," said Napoleon, who was once only to meet this man—at Waterloo. Madrid did not fall, and Wellington might have been cut off had he not marched his army back to Portugal.

The Lines of Torres Vedras.—Moore's retreat from Spain, followed within less than a year by that of Wellington, marks the beginning of the see-saw of the Peninsular War. To have a safe base was vital, and when Masséna, with fresh laurels from Wagram, arrived to carry out his orders to drive the British into the sea, Wellington was ready. In 1810 he completed the lines of Torres Vedras, defending the seaport of Lisbon. They crossed the Peninsula between the Tagus and the mountains on the sea-coast. If the enemy should get past the first line, they would find a second, and after that a third line, behind which the British could, if need be, embark and sail away. In fact, the French never penetrated the first line. Spain is a poor country, and Masséna's army was half-starved before the lines in 1810. Thirty thousand of his men died, and he had to retire into Spain. Wellington followed him in 1811. Again, however, in spite of victories at Fuentes d'Oñoro and Albuera, in May, 1811, the British had to retire into Portugal.

Napoleon's March to Moscow, 1812.—The year 1812 is decisive in the career of Napoleon. He never realized the menace from Spain, but turned his eyes northward. The Continental Policy, he believed, would, if continued a little longer, strangle Britain. Russia, however, was weary of the Continental Policy. She had great quantities of grain. Only British ships could sail the seas, and the Russians insisted on using them to send out their grain and to bring in needed merchandise. When Napoleon protested angrily to the Czar Alexander, the pride of that monarch was

touched. A quarrel followed, and in 1812 Napoleon decided to smite Russia, as he had smitten Austria, in one great battle. He gathered an army of four hundred and fifty thousand men, probably the greatest array which Europe had ever seen. But he could not fight a great battle. The weak Russian army retreated before him. All through the summer he was led farther and farther into Russia, and only on September 6th, did he force a battle and win a victory at Borodino, almost before the gates of Moscow. He occupied that capital. But what then? The Czar would not treat with him. Moscow was set on fire, it is not quite clear by whom, and most of the great city was destroyed. Winter was near, and General February would, it was said, defeat Napoleon with bitter cold. For five weeks Napoleon waited, and then he decided to retreat. The march began on October 18th. Seven weeks later a few thousand ragged and half-starved men, the remnant of a great army, staggered into Vilna. Here on December 6th Napoleon left them, to hurry back to France. Not one-quarter of his army had been French. It was chiefly Polish, German, and Italian conscripts who perished on the Russian plains.

Wellington's Advance Across Spain to France, 1812-1814.—During these stirring events Wellington was advancing into Spain. The courses of two rivers, the Guadiana and the Tagus, lead from Spain across Portugal to the sea. The roads were bad in the mountainous and arid country through which they flow. On the Spanish side of the frontier, the fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo guarded one entrance, while Badajoz protected the Guadiana. Masséna had been recalled in disgrace. Marmont and Soult now led the French. Wellington could, when need arose, act with the lightning rapidity of Napoleon. The opening into Spain must be made, so in midwinter he advanced up the Tagus valley, and on January 19th, 1812, took Ciudad Rodrigo by storm, with fearful losses. On April 6th he stormed Badajoz. He advanced into Spain,

won, on July 22nd, the great victory of Salamanca, and occupied Madrid. But his resourceful enemy threatened his communications, and he had to abandon Madrid and once more to withdraw to Portugal. The see-saw still endured, but in the spring of 1813 he began his final advance. He had secured supplies by way of the sea, while the French had to plunder the inhabitants, who retorted with murderous guerilla warfare. The disaster in Russia had weakened the French resistance; some good regiments were recalled to France. On June 21st Wellington defeated King Joseph at Vittoria and advanced to the Pyrenees. Here there was severe fighting. In July he defeated Soult in the Battle of the Pyrenees, and in October he crossed the frontier into France. All through the winter Soult's defence was stubborn, and he met his last defeat before the French city of Toulouse on April 10th, 1814. A week earlier, though Soult did not know it, Napoleon had abdicated, after the allies from the north had occupied Paris. Russia and Spain together had ruined him. The Duke of Weimar had said of Napoleon's sway: "It cannot endure because it is unjust." Not only Russia, but oppressed Austria and Prussia turned on him after the Russian disaster. The allies recalled Louis XVIII, the Bourbon king, to replace Napoleon, who was made sovereign of the little Italian island of Elba, in sight of his native Corsica.

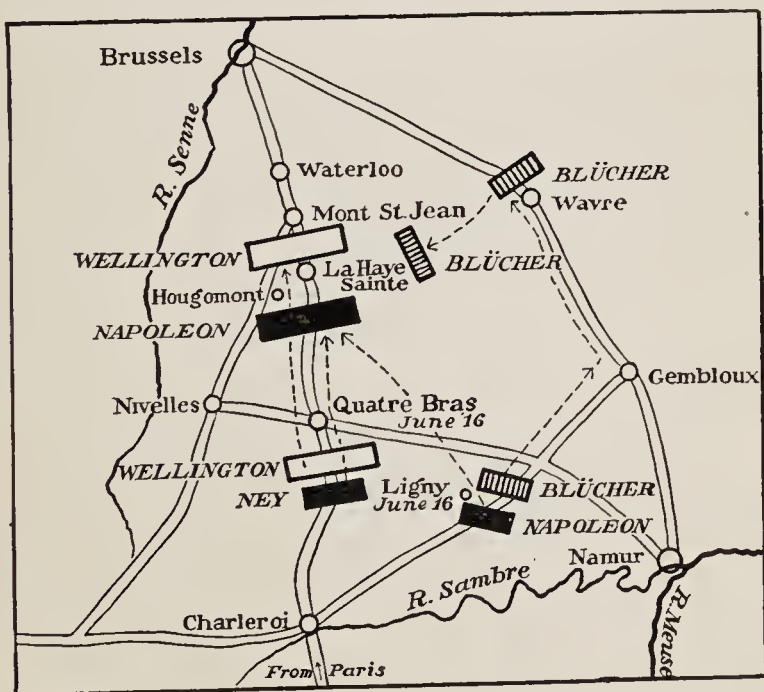
The Return from Elba, 1815. —After the fall of Napoleon, the chief European powers met in the Congress of Vienna, to settle the many questions raised by the long strife. The Congress was soon disturbed by the news that Napoleon had returned from Elba. The allies had not kept faith with him. The income promised by the king of France was not paid, his wife and son were not allowed to join him, and there was talk of removing him to some remoter spot. Many in France desired him to come back. His soldiers had found themselves neglected by the Bourbon king, Louis XVIII, and were longing for their old

leader. Many who held lands seized during the Revolution, were uneasy about claims to them now made by the returned loyalists. All this Napoleon understood, and suddenly, in March, 1815, he reappeared in France. He had hoped that, if France welcomed him, he might be left to rule undisturbed. At least his old soldiers welcomed him, and the restored king, Louis XVIII, fled. But the Congress at Vienna promptly declared him "the enemy and disturber of the peace of the world," and refused to make any terms with him as ruler of France. Prussia, Britain, Russia, and Austria each agreed to put one hundred and fifty thousand men into the field. Russia and Austria were slow in carrying out this pledge, and the brunt of the fighting fell upon Prussia and Britain.

The Hundred Days.—Napoleon's revived sway lasted for only a hundred days. Belgium, before and since that time the chief battle-field of Europe, was destined to see his last fight. No longer could he force the manhood of subject nations into his army, but he had a hundred and twenty thousand men, mostly his former soldiers, perhaps the finest army he had ever commanded. Wellington's headquarters were at Brussels, while the veteran Prussian Marshal Blücher's were at Liége. Each of them had nearly as many men as Napoleon, whose only hope was in defeating one before he met the other. He was resolved that the struggle should not be on French territory, where his hold was uncertain. It is said that he was now shaken by disease and often torpid and lacking in decision. This may be true, but his genius for rapid action remained. His active campaign lasted but nine days. On June 12th he left Paris to join his army; on June 21st he was back again, a fugitive. The two roads by which Wellington and Blücher were to press on to invade France converged at Charleroi. Here, once united, they would make a force nearly twice as large as that of Napoleon. His aim was to prevent their junction. On June 15th, Wellington was surprised to learn in Brussels that Napoleon was at Charle-

roi. As yet the news was secret. That night Wellington and his officers attended a ball given by the Duchess of Richmond. Spies, it was thought, would report this gaiety as showing that he was off his guard. But he left Brussels before daybreak. On the 16th the French fought two battles. Napoleon himself went up the road to Wavre from Charleroi to meet Blücher. He defeated him at Ligny, but with fatal indecision did not press his victory, so that Blücher was able to rally his forces. Ney, marching from Charleroi up the Brussels road, met Wellington at Quatre Bras and was repulsed. But the defeat of Blücher obliged Wellington to fall back toward Brussels. Across the main highway he took his stand a little in front of the village of Waterloo, which has given its name to one of the decisive battles of history.

The Battle of Waterloo, 1815.—Wellington knew that



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO

Blücher was marching across country to the Brussels road, and he gave battle with the certainty that the Prussians would arrive in time to prevent his defeat. He had about sixty-seven thousand men; Napoleon, six or seven thousand more than this. One-third only of Wellington's force was British, most of them newly recruited; the remaining two-thirds were chiefly Dutch and German; and Wellington declared that it was the worst army ever brought together. Napoleon's aim was to mass his great force on a short front and to break Wellington's line. The battle began about noon. Again and again the French charged, but at six in the evening they had not succeeded. The French cavalry, it was said, "foamed itself away" on the British squares. Meanwhile Blücher was advancing slowly over roads heavy from recent rain, and it was his arrival, as night fell, that decided the issue. The fifth and last French charge, that of Napoleon's Guard, failed. By that time the Prussians were almost behind him, cutting off retreat, and at nine o'clock his army was scattering in wild flight. The French turned against him, and within a few days he was forced to abdicate. Blücher now vowed that, if he captured the emperor, he should shoot him, and, in the end, Napoleon took refuge on a British man-of-war, the *Bellerophon*. His last battle, Waterloo, was also the last in which British and French have drawn the sword against each other. The fallen emperor spent his few remaining years at St. Helena, the prisoner of Britain.

British Gains as Settled by the Congress of Vienna, 1814-15.—The Congress of Vienna had continued its work even during the campaign of Waterloo, and it concluded the Treaty of Vienna in 1815. Revolution, begun in 1789, had brought a quarter of a century of war, and now it seemed as if peace could be best assured by restoring the old dynasties. The Bourbons came back in France, and the petty princes in Italy, and, to some extent, in Germany. Prussia greatly increased her territory. Belgium and Holland were united in one kingdom, as also were Norway and

Sweden—unions which did not endure. Britain had seized many overseas possessions of Napoleon and of those who fought with him. Now it was from the Dutch, long his ally, that she made her chief gains. Of Holland's former dominions, she kept Ceylon in India, a part of Guiana in America, and Cape Colony, which was the beginning of her great empire in South Africa. While Holland was thus shorn, everything taken from France was restored, except Mauritius, an island on the way from Cape Colony to India, and Tobago and St. Lucia in the West Indies. But Britain retained Malta. Spain was now too weak to hold her overseas dominions, and most of them—Mexico, Peru, Chile, the Argentine, all, indeed, but the islands, Cuba and the Philippines—soon became independent. Britain was left the one great colonial power.

CHAPTER XIX

THE REFORM OF PARLIAMENT

1. FOREIGN POLICY AFTER 1815

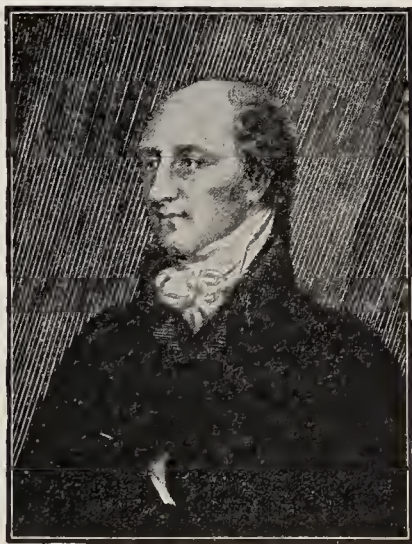
The Holy Alliance.—War had raged in Europe almost without a break for nearly a quarter of a century, until peace came finally in 1815. The passions stirred by war are apt themselves to be the cause of new wars. The fall of Napoleon, the child of revolution, meant the triumph for the time of the forces opposed to revolution. Then, as so anxiously since, many hoped that the sacrifices of war should result in ending war itself. When the allied armies were at Paris in 1815, the Czar Alexander of Russia was ready with a plan. Let the rulers of Europe, he urged, take for their sole guide the principles of the Christian religion; let Europe become one great Christian brotherhood. We know that Alexander's fellow-sovereigns jeered privately at his idealism, but none the less his Holy Alliance was formed, and in the end was joined by most of the rulers of continental Europe. The plan was noble, and out of it have come later efforts to promote peace, such as the Hague Conference and the League of Nations. Profound wisdom would have been necessary to carry out a Holy Alliance of all Europe. Meanwhile peace must be assured, and Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France formed a Quadruple Alliance, which guaranteed the settlement made by the Congress of Vienna.

French Dominance in Spain, 1823.—Britain did not join either the Holy or the Quadruple Alliance. The policy of Lord Castlereagh, who represented her at Vienna, was to get Napoleon out of the way for ever, by sending him to remote St. Helena, and to leave each of the nations of Europe to settle its own internal affairs. By guaranteeing

the settlement of 1815, the Quadruple Alliance was pledged to interfere in every country where revolution was imminent. Spain, for instance, had restored the Bourbon ruler, Ferdinand VII, a man of base nature, a cruel despot, the prey of degrading vices. By 1820 his rule proved unendurable, but when a revolution took place in Spain, France, as the instrument of the Quadruple Alliance, invaded Spain and in 1823 restored Ferdinand. Then came a further problem. The Spanish colonies in America were in revolt. When, in 1808, a Bonaparte ruled Spain, they had refused to accept his rule, and one by one had declared their independence. But when the ancient Spanish line was restored, Spanish rule was also restored in some of the colonies. Spain had ruled her colonies harshly, and now Bolivar, an inspiring colonial leader, was working with great success for the independence of the colonies. In 1822, when Castlereagh died by his own hand, George Canning became foreign secretary, and he had to face the menace of French supremacy in Spain, and, with this, in the Spanish colonies.

George Canning and the Monroe Doctrine, 1823.—

On one point Canning was resolved: France might possibly control Spain, but she should not control the Spanish colonies in America. British trade with them was important, and France would be more likely to check it than would weak Spain. The United States had no desire to have France instead of Spain as a neighbour in Mexico. British and American interests coincided, and Canning, to



GEORGE CANNING (1770-1827)

use his own phrase, called into existence the new world to redress the balance of the old. In truth, he called nothing new into being, but, at his urging, President Monroe of the United States declared, in 1823, that the United States had no thought of intervening in European affairs and would regard as unfriendly acts any interference of Europe in America, by the creation of new colonies or by the transfer of existing colonies from one power to another. This is the famous "Monroe Doctrine," by which the United States has stood ever since. The result was that, one by one, the Spanish colonies, from Mexico to Chile and the Argentine, finally became independent republics, and French ambition to replace Spain in America was defeated.

The Period of Peace, 1815-1854.—In a similar manner, in 1827, Britain opposed Turkish efforts to reconquer revolted Greece. The Turk was not a member of the Holy Alliance. France and Russia joined Britain, and in 1827 their allied fleets destroyed that of Turkey in the Greek harbour of Navarino. Soon after this Greece became an independent kingdom, and it was made clear that the settlement of 1815 could not be final. Whatever its defects, one result was that no great war broke out in Europe until the Crimean War, after an interval of nearly forty years. In Asia and in Africa Britain was often at war during this period, but not in Europe. There were times when war seemed imminent, especially with France, but after 1815 Britain's vital problems were in her own domestic affairs.

2. THE EXTENSION OF THE RIGHT TO VOTE

The Decline of the Power of the Crown.—In the year before the disaster at Yorktown in 1781, which revealed finally the failure of George III to coerce the colonies, the Whigs carried in the House of Commons this motion: "That the power of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." Soon after this Pitt, as prime minister, made himself powerful, but George III was still able at times to force his will upon Parliament,

until the last melancholy years after 1811, when he was both insane and blind. In 1807 he broke up Grenville's "Ministry of all the Talents," because it desired to appoint Roman Catholics as officers in the army and navy. George III could play the despot over Parliament, because the nation shared his prejudices and respected the decorum of his life. But there was little decorum to respect in the life of his son, the Prince Regent, who in 1820 became George IV. He was a clever dandy, a drunken spendthrift, a man without heart or morals. He aspired to be the first gentleman of Europe, and his manners were sometimes gracious. But his people understood his hard and selfish character. Even the courtly Duke of Wellington despised him, and no class was ready to support any exercise of arbitrary power by him. His brother, William IV, who became king in 1830, was an old man with little influence. Then followed, in 1837, a female sovereign, Victoria, who reigned for the rest of the century. By this time the nation was determined to rule itself. Victoria found always that she must accept the will of Parliament, and Parliament, in turn, obeyed the voters. The pomp of monarchy remained impressive, but henceforth the sovereign reigned but did not rule.



GEORGE IV (1762-1830)

Industrial Unrest after the War.—The close of the long war against Napoleon was followed by much distress. The growth of a vast national debt had increased taxation, and the peace threw out of employment thousands of sailors and soldiers and of workmen engaged in making the material of war. Of six hundred and forty-four ships in the navy, no fewer than five hundred and thirty were put out of

commission. At the same time the increased use of machinery involved the ruin of many handicrafts. At first discontent showed itself in senseless violence. A half-crazy lad, William Ludd, destroyed a machine in a fit of passion, and certain of the artisan class banded themselves together as "Luddites" to break up machines. William Cobbett, the most influential newspaper writer of his time, told the discontented that violence would do no good and that they must find a better remedy for their grievances. The real need, he said, was to obtain votes for the working classes; a Parliament elected by the people would cure the ills of the people.

The Demand for Reform. —Thus came after the peace an insistent demand for political reform. The House of Commons did not represent the people. "Pocket boroughs," with fewer than half a dozen voters, sent two members to Parliament, while great industrial centres sent none. It is almost incredible, but it is true, that in all Scotland fewer than five thousand had the right to vote, and in the great city of Edinburgh only thirty-three. London's great population had fewer voters than a sparsely settled county. The notorious Wilkes had attacked these evils; the younger Pitt three times introduced bills to end them; and a little before the French Revolution, the "Society of Friends of the People" was organized to bring about reform. But the owners of the "pocket boroughs" were strong enough to prevent change. When, after peace was restored in 1815, the demand for reform was revived, the king's ministers refused to consider it, and induced Parliament in 1817 to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, so that they might imprison the agitators.

The Six Acts, 1819.—In spite of this severity, the movement grew. In 1819 a great meeting in the city of Birmingham took the decisive step of electing two members to sit in the House of Commons for Birmingham, although no member was allowed to that place. Castlereagh and Sidmouth, the home secretary, framed the repressive policy

of the government. Sir Charles Wolseley, one of the members elected for Birmingham, was put in prison. In Manchester there was a similar attempt to elect members, no matter what the law might say. On August 16th, 1819, some fifty thousand people met in the field known as Peterloo, where now stands the great Free Trade Hall. When the magistrates lost their heads and ordered soldiers to arrest the speakers, five or six persons were killed and many were injured. Passions on one side made of this a massacre, and on the other urged severe repression. Sidmouth put through Parliament Six Acts, which were bitterly denounced. They rightly forbade military training for unlawful purposes, they penalized libellous writings, and imposed a stamp tax on pamphlets; and it was annoying that they forbade unauthorized public meetings. The resentment at this check on freedom of speech was acute. For a time it looked as if it might be Britain's turn to have a revolution. When George III died in 1820, a band of conspirators, led by a man named Thistlewood, meeting in a stable in Cato Street, plotted to murder the king's ministers gathered at dinner, and to seize London. The chief result was that Thistlewood was hanged.

The Duke of Wellington, Prime Minister, 1828.—When Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister, retired in 1827, the Tory party was divided. George IV called upon Canning, the foremost orator on the Tory side, to form a ministry. But Canning was too liberal for the other Tories. He stood for religious toleration and might have come to favour the extension of the right to vote. The Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and other Tory leaders, would not support him, and he had to look to the Whigs for help. Perhaps Canning would have led the more liberal wing of the Tory party into new paths, as Peel did later, but he was prime minister only from April to August, 1827, when his brilliant career was cut short by death. In 1828 the Tories seemed to have found a strong prime minister in the Duke of Wellington. But the hero of the Peninsular War and the

conqueror of Napoleon was abler as a warrior than as a statesman. He was honest, straightforward, and frank. His view, however, was that the propertied classes alone had a permanent stake in the country and should rule, while it was the duty of the masses to obey. But, good soldier that he was, he knew when to retreat, and now he retreated before the insistent pressure of public opinion.

The Relief of Protestant and Roman Catholic Dissenters, 1828-29. — The Duke's first retreat was on the question of religious toleration. The oppressive laws against Protestant nonconformists, known as the "Clarendon Code," had never been repealed. They were not strictly enforced, but it was still true that Methodists and Baptists, for instance,



DANIEL O'CONNELL (1775-1847)

were under humiliating restrictions. So also were Roman Catholics. George III had furiously opposed the appointment of Roman Catholics as officers in the army and navy, and not until 1817, when the king was hopelessly insane, did the Prince Regent assent to a bill removing this disability. The tide of public opinion was running with the Whigs, and in 1828 Wellington yielded so far as to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts. The similar question of

freedom for Roman Catholics was solved only upon the threat of civil war in Ireland. In 1828, Daniel O'Connell, a Roman Catholic, offered himself in the Irish constituency of Clare as a candidate for the House of Commons. Against the powerful interest of the Protestant landlords, but with the support of the Roman Catholics who had secured the vote in 1793, O'Connell was elected by an overwhelming majority. Yet the law would not permit him to take his seat. There was a furious

agitation in Ireland, and a rising was imminent. The Duke of Wellington saw that the time had come to yield. George IV opposed relief, as his father had done. The extreme Tories and Protestants still fought strenuously against Catholic Emancipation; yet it was the Tory prime minister, Wellington, who carried through the Relief Bill in 1829. A few offices, chiefly that of the sovereign and of the lord chancellor, were still reserved for Protestants only; but otherwise Roman Catholic and Protestant were henceforth on an equal footing before the law. At last religious toleration had become a full reality.

William IV, 1830-1837.—Catholic Relief affected Ireland rather than England. The issue upon which passions in England were furious was the extension of the franchise. When George IV died in 1830, the Whigs welcomed his brother, William IV. He called himself a Whig and the friend of reform. In his youth, which covered the period of the American Revolution, he had served in the navy as an able-bodied seaman and had acquired rough and hearty manners. He was kindly, sincere, and frank, but he lacked firmness and dignity. The Whigs soon found that it was one thing for a royal prince to say that he favoured reform, and quite another thing for the same prince, as king, to face steadily the storm of protests from its enemies. The Tories declared that no change was needed. The Duke of Wellington said that nothing better than the existing system could be devised, that a reform bill meant an attack upon property and would probably be followed by confiscation. Such extreme views disturbed even the Duke's own followers. The nation was for reform. The Whigs carried the



WILLIAM IV

election of the summer of 1830, and Wellington was forced to retire from office.

The First Reform Bill, 1832.—The Whig leader was an old man, Earl Grey, the lonely survivor of the friends of Fox who had opposed Pitt. In Grey there was no touch of the newer radicalism. He was moderate and restrained, but the crisis was acute, with the House of Lords bitterly hostile to reform, and extremists on the other side ready for civil war. In March, 1831, Lord John Russell introduced the Reform Bill into the House of Commons. When it passed by a bare majority of one, Grey appealed to the country and came back triumphant. But William IV was so hostile to the Bill that Grey resigned and left to the king



CHARLES, EARL GREY (1764-1845)

and the Tories the task of carrying on the government. Riots broke out in many parts of England. For days Bristol was in the hands of a mob, which burned many buildings and threatened to destroy the whole city. When the Tories found that they could not form a ministry, William IV was forced again to call upon Lord Grey to conduct the government. He insisted that the Lords must give way to the Commons and exacted from William IV a written pledge that he would create as many peers as should be required to force the Bill through the House of Lords. This threat sufficed. The Commons passed the Bill again in 1832. Enough Tory peers stayed away to give the Whigs a majority in the Lords, and the Bill became law.

The Extension of the Right to Vote after 1832.—The Reform Bill of 1832 effected a revolution in English political life. It swept away no fewer than one hundred and forty-three old seats. Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham,

London, and other populous centres now displaced the "rotten boroughs." Formerly there had been but one polling-booth for each constituency; many electors had been obliged to travel a long way to vote; elections had lasted forty days, often amid riot and disorder that led to bloodshed. Now voting places were to be more numerous, and the election was to be completed within two days. The effect of the Bill was to extend the vote to the small shop-keeper in the towns and to the small farmer in the counties. In a town no one who paid a rental of less than ten pounds might vote. In a county the vote was even more carefully guarded. An owner who occupied his own land might indeed vote if the value was as low as two pounds a year. A tenant with a lease for as long as sixty years might vote on a rental of ten pounds. But a tenant with a shorter lease or no lease at all must pay at least fifty pounds.

The Bill did not give the vote to the two most numerous classes in England—the artisan and the farm labourer. Thirty-five years later, the further demand for the vote had become so acute that the Conservative leader, Disraeli, went beyond even Whig opinion and passed in 1867 the Second Reform Bill, which gave the vote in towns to all tax-payers and in counties to those paying a rental as high as ten pounds. Not yet might the agricultural labourer vote. His turn came in 1884, when the Third Reform Bill, passed by Gladstone, gave the vote to practically every male who had a fixed abode. As yet there was little talk of the vote for women, but this, too, was to come. Women began about 1910 an active agitation, and in 1918, influenced by the noble work of women during the Great War, the government of Mr. Lloyd George passed, with the wide-spread approval of the nation, the Fourth Reform Bill and gave women the right to vote and to sit in the House of Commons. To prevent women voters being in the majority, it is provided that they must be at least thirty years old, while men need be only twenty-one. One-third of the total population now has the vote.

3. THE WORK OF THE REFORMED PARLIAMENT

The Abolition of Slavery, 1833.—To the ease with which the right to vote is now secured may be due the light sense, with many, of its importance. There can, however, be no doubt that the Reform Bill of 1832 created an electorate eager for social reforms. Hoary evils assailed for half a century were now, at last, overthrown. The worst of them was slavery, which, though it did not exist in the British Isles, flourished in the British colonies. In 1807 Parliament had abolished the cruel slave-trade, but this was only a step toward the goal at which Wilberforce and other leaders aimed. They wished to abolish slavery itself in all British territory. Wilberforce had spent his life in this work, but did not live to see his end attained. In 1833, however, the very year of his death, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton brought about the abolition of slavery. In this measure the British people showed the sincerity of their belief in reform. In spite of the fact that they held no slaves at home, they voted twenty million pounds to pay owners in the colonies for the loss of their slaves.

The Factory Act, 1833.—There still existed in the British Isles themselves a slavery, in fact, if not in name. In some factories children six years old, almost babies, were forced to work thirteen or fourteen hours a day and were literally sold into this slavery by greedy parents or by the poor law guardians. Lord Ashley, afterwards the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, drew a terrible picture of the cruelty of the system. In the hospitals of Lancashire he found many little children dwarfed and crippled by working in crowded factories, when they should have been at play. Many factory owners, who profited by this child labour, were extremely hostile to the agitation for checking it. But Lord Ashley secured a Factory Act in 1833. Though it fell far short of what he desired, no child under nine years of age might henceforth be employed in factories; children under thirteen might not be employed for more

than eight hours a day, nor those between thirteen and eighteen for more than twelve. This was the best that Lord Ashley could do in 1833. It was certainly not for the good of the nation that children under thirteen should be in factories and coal mines for even eight hours a day. He continued his agitation, and in 1847 a new Factory Bill prohibited the employment of women and of children under eighteen in factories for more than ten hours a day.

Reform of the Poor Laws, 1834.—The first reformed Parliament turned from the case of the children to that of the poor. Here the evil was not one of harsh treatment, but one of an over-indulgence which encouraged reckless poverty. We have seen how the state had admitted the right of every man to aid from the parish, if his wages were not sufficient to support his family (p. 441). The system was soon grossly abused. Since the parish was there for workmen to fall back upon, many employers took good care to pay low wages, knowing that the parish must support their labourers. The tax levied under the Poor Law became, at length, enormous; a property that in 1801 paid eleven pounds for poor rates, was forced by 1832 to pay three hundred and sixty-seven pounds, and at that time the annual levy for poor relief reached the immense total of eight million, six hundred thousand pounds. Yet the poor were really injured by the system. A man who refused to work could demand aid for himself and his family, and be even better off than a steady workman trying to live on the small wages of his own industry. Amid such conditions, self-respect and thrift were actually discouraged. The demand for change was insistent, and the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 was sweeping in character. It allowed aid only to the really destitute and obliged these to go to live in workhouses. The system of doles in money, called outdoor relief, to people living in their own cottages, was abolished. The change was drastic and sudden, and caused, of course, distress to many whom the old system had rendered help-

less. In the end, aid in money was allowed to aged and infirm persons. Severe though the terms of the Act were, it checked a great evil and encouraged a new self-reliance in the English villagers.

Fall of Lord Grey's Ministry, 1834.—Eagerness for reform soon died out among the Whig leaders. Earl Grey was anxious to give the people justice, but he had no belief in their power to govern themselves. His Cabinet was composed chiefly of peers, and he held in check the demand for further democratic measures. Ireland, which had wrecked Pitt's career for a time, was destined now to end that of Grey. O'Connell, once in Parliament, pressed two demands—one for the abolition of the tithe in Ireland, the other for the repeal of the Union. His meetings in Ireland were attended by vast crowds. There he was spoken of as the uncrowned king, and under him the masses of the Irish were at last united. O'Connell's attack on tithes led many to refuse to pay this tax on Roman Catholics and Protestants alike to support a state church which was Protestant; and when the government adopted coercive measures, the tithe-collectors were sometimes murdered. O'Connell insisted that crime could be stopped by conciliation; instead, Lord Grey applied more drastic coercion. In this course his more liberal ministers would not support him, and he resigned in 1834. Lord Melbourne became prime minister, only, soon after, to find himself suddenly dismissed by the king, who had come to look upon Whig rule with dread and alarm. An election, however, gave the Whigs a majority, and William IV was obliged to accept Melbourne in spite of himself. It was the last time that the sovereign tried to dictate to Parliament the choice of a prime minister. Two years later, in 1837, William IV died.

4. LITERATURE DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR REFORM

The Reform Bill of 1832.—The Reform Bill of 1832 marked the climax, for the time, of the desire for change

aroused by the French Revolution. The long period of upheaval had produced a great effect in the world of letters. The French Revolution stirred deep emotions and caused a new outburst of poetry. The two poets, William Wordsworth (1770-1850) and Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834), were young men when the Revolution began. At first it aroused in them keen sympathy, but in the end it repelled them by its bloody excesses. *The Ancient Mariner*, *Christabel*, *Kubla Khan*, and other short poems of Coleridge are full of exquisite imagery and rhythm. The quantity of his poetry is not great, for he completed only a few poems. Wordsworth worked long and steadily in his quiet country home in the Lake District. *The Prelude*, a fine poem, is the story of his own inner life and is more successful than his longest poem, *The Excursion*. His best work is in such short poems as *The Intimations of Immortality*, *Tintern Abbey*, and *The Ode to Duty*. In his view, nature herself feels the gladness of life, and the very flowers enjoy the air they breathe. Never before had poet interpreted the heart of nature as he did.

The three poets, Lord Byron (1788-1824), Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822), and John Keats (1795-1821), died young, before their genius was fully matured. Both Byron and Shelley saw with burning indignation the inequalities of society. Just when England had ended the long struggle with revolutionary France, these two poets attacked the institutions which had gained the victory and which were regarded as sacred. As a result, they were treated in England as outcasts. When Byron went to live abroad, he shocked his countrymen by his openly immoral life. His death, while he was engaged in aiding the Greeks to throw off the Turkish yoke, showed the sincerity of his belief in liberty. *Don Juan* is a bitter satire on society. *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* abounds in descriptive passages of great beauty. The fault with Byron is the narrow range of his imagination. His thought centres always in himself. Shelley, who shared Byron's revolt against society, also

withdrew from England. Injustice and cruelty filled him with a passion for reforming the world. From childhood he had imagined a state of perfect beauty and happiness; *Prometheus Unbound* is a dream of a regenerated universe. *Adonais*, his lament for Keats, is fit to rank with Milton's *Lycidas*. Perhaps no English poet equals Shelley in the gifts of imagination. Keats, unlike his two friends, took little interest in social questions, but turned rather to the romantic past. His best efforts—*Hyperion*, *The Eve of St. Agnes*, and some shorter poems, are pervaded by an intense love of beauty.

A great Scotsman in this period is famous both as a poet and as a writer of prose. The early fame of Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) was due to his stirring verse. His half-feudal spirit was not touched by the discontent of an age of revolution. For his themes he turned to the past, and the past chiefly of his native land, Scotland. The long narrative poems, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, *Marion*, and *The Lady of The Lake*, are full of vigorous movement. Only in middle age did Scott begin to write novels, and his first story, *Waverley*, published in 1814, created a great sensation. In rapid succession he produced *Guy Mannering*, *Ivanhoe*, *Kenilworth*, *Old Mortality*, and many others. To the taste of the present day his style seems diffuse, but there is a wonderful magic in his stories. Jane Austen (1775-1817) described the society of her time with so fine a touch and so delicate a humour that she has still many readers. We have in her pages an exact picture of English middle-class life at the time of the great struggle with Napoleon. Such titles of her books as *Pride and Prejudice* and *Sense and Sensibility* indicate the characteristics of the society which she depicts.

CHAPTER XX

THE VICTORIAN AGE

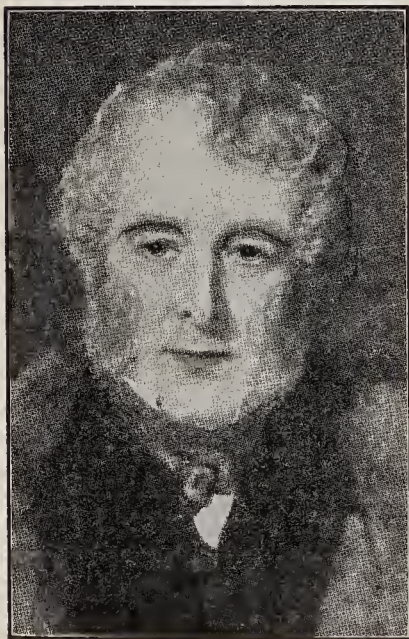
1. THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS

Victoria, 1837-1901.—The mere length of the reign of Victoria is memorable. Its sixty-four years covered the whole cycle of changes between the age of Napoleon and our own time. Victoria, daughter of Edward, Duke of Kent, younger son of George III, had been carefully trained for her office and never lacked the sense of its majesty. By nature she was vivacious, emotional, and self-willed. She ruled firmly those about her. When her son, who became Edward VII, was a man of fifty, he still stood in awe of her displeasure over so slight a thing as being late for dinner. The austere purity of her life and her anxious discharge of her duties won the respect and affection of her subjects, a respect deepened by her sorrow. In 1841 she married a German prince, her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and gave him her devoted love. She bore him nine children and was heart-broken when he died in 1861. Parliament gave him the title of Prince Consort. He had no official standing, but he really directed the policy of the crown. He was intensely earnest



VICTORIA

and industrious, but he never became one with the English. They distrust foreigners, and of this he had many unpleasant reminders. He was disliked by some of the nobility, chiefly, perhaps, because he did not share their field sports. He had been reared with the German conception of monarchy, and Victoria herself was fond of power. But no serious effort was made to revive the authority of the crown. The early death of the Prince Consort left the queen entirely dependent on her ministers. The fact that the sovereign was a woman kept her somewhat in the background, and the prime minister became the undisputed holder of political authority. In the end the queen frankly accepted limitations that no previous sovereign would have acknowledged. "I am bound by certain rules and usages," she said to Napoleon III; "I have no uncontrolled power of decision; I must adopt the advice of a council of ministers."



WILLIAM LAMB, VISCOUNT MELBOURNE
(1779-1848)

Lord Melbourne, Prime Minister, 1835-1841.—It was happy for the young queen that on her accession in 1837 Lord Melbourne was prime minister. This childless, elderly man devoted himself to her with paternal care, checked her impulsiveness, and gave her wise counsel. Outwardly he seemed indolent and without serious purpose. He was so careless of time that he would never carry a watch. His manners were free, and his talk was larded with oaths. In grave discussions he would sometimes stop to blow a feather or would turn to things

quite irrelevant. All this, however, only partly concealed industry and firm purpose. He was deeply learned in theology, a classical scholar, and a widely-read man of the world. He had no illusions in politics. Governments, he thought, could do little more than prevent crime and carry out their contracts. It was a meagre faith, but perhaps it helped to teach the young queen the limitations of her power.

The Ladies of the Bed-chamber.—Canada was much before the British public in 1837 and 1838. It was the scene of armed rebellion just when the nation was welcoming the young queen. The zeal of the Whigs who had effected the great series of reforms after 1832 was running low, and they were losing their hold on the country. In 1839 defeat in the House of Commons caused Melbourne to resign. The event caused dismay to the queen. She regarded Melbourne as her best friend and wept at the thought of parting with him. She had been reared a Whig, and all her ladies were Whig. Now, however, she was obliged to call upon the Tory leader, Sir Robert Peel, to form a government. Peel was grave and earnest, but also shy and reserved and quite unlike the fatherly Melbourne. When Peel urged the importance of having the ladies in attendance on the sovereign in sympathy with the prime minister of the day, and not the close relatives of his Whig opponents, the queen declared that this was an outrage. She would, she said, retain all her ladies; not one should go. The result of her refusal to yield was that Melbourne and the Whigs stayed in office for two years more. But the queen was wrong. "It was entirely my own foolishness," she said later. After 1839 the ladies about her were chosen from both sides in politics, and since then the sovereign has not been identified with any party.

2. THE ADOPTION OF FREE TRADE

The Burden of the Corn Laws.—Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850) was prime minister from 1841 to 1846. Gladstone

said that Peel was "the greatest man he ever knew;" Disraeli called him "the greatest member of Parliament that ever lived." The son of a wealthy manufacturer, he had been trained from youth for political life. His industry was such that he often worked for sixteen hours a day. At twenty-five he was secretary for Ireland, and, to protect life and property, created there the police known sometimes as "peelers." He helped to carry out the reform of the criminal law. Though on the Tory side, he was not bound completely by party traditions. The old Toryism was, in truth, dying, because of its religious intolerance



SIR ROBERT PEEL (1788-1850)

and of its resistance to any extension of the right to vote. The change from Toryism was seen in the name, Conservative, first used in 1831. In times of crisis great minds follow principles rather than party; Canning had broken with the Tories on the question of relief to the Roman Catholics, and now close thought led Peel to attack the Corn Laws. During the long French war British farmers had reaped great profits through the high price of

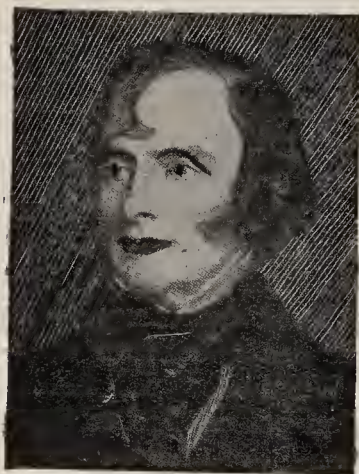
wheat, and after the peace of 1815 the land-owners were determined to keep up the price. An Act was, therefore, passed, prohibiting the importation of foreign wheat until the price in Britain should reach eighty shillings a quarter (eight bushels); colonial wheat, which was then unimportant in quantity, might be brought in when the price reached only sixty-seven shillings. In 1822 a sliding scale of duties was adopted. When the price of wheat was low abroad, the duty was to be high, in order that the English land-owner might always be free from the competition of cheap wheat. It is obvious that the Corn Laws were in the

interest of the landed classes and made wheat dear to the poor. For this injustice radical reformers bitterly attacked the duties. But both the Tory and the Whig leaders supported the Corn Laws, and Lord Melbourne declared in 1839 that Free Trade in corn was the wildest and maddest scheme ever imagined.

The Repeal of the Corn Laws, 1846, Followed by Free Trade.—Richard Cobden, a manufacturer, became an ardent free trader, and his clear and forcible reasoning enlisted in the cause the great eloquence of John Bright. These leaders joined the Anti-Corn-Law League formed in 1838, and soon their influence was felt. Rigid Whigs and Tories still made light of the movement, but Sir Robert Peel saw that the existing system must be changed. Already, in 1842, he had lowered the duties both on wheat and on many other commodities. When there was famine in Ireland in 1845 and three million persons lacked food, Peel's mind was tortured by the thought of their suffering. The supply of wheat in England was short, and only foreign grain could meet the need. Peel begged his Tory colleagues to relieve it by removing the duties on grain. But, led by Lord George Bentinck and Disraeli, they refused, and he resigned, deeply convinced that all duties on food must be for ever repealed. Then it was found that no one else could form a ministry. When Peel resumed office, the repeal of the Corn Laws had become certain. Supported by many Whigs under Lord John Russell, but amid the execrations of his former Tory friends, Peel carried through, in June, 1846, the great measure under which, after February 1st, 1849, wheat was admitted free, with the exception of a registration duty of a shilling a quarter. Even this duty was abolished in 1869. The repeal of the Corn Laws led to complete Free Trade; by 1852 successive budgets had swept away every vestige of protection.

Overthrow of Peel by the Tories, 1846.—Peel fell in the moment of his triumph. In June, 1846, on the very day

when the Lords finally passed the repeal of the Corn Laws, he was defeated in the House of Commons on an Irish question and resigned. He refused all honours. To Cobden rather than to him, he said, was due the credit for untaxed food, but he hoped that



LORD JOHN, AFTERWARDS EARL
RUSSELL (1792-1878)

his name might be remembered with good-will by toilers whose food would be the sweeter, because "no longer leavened by a sense of injustice." Never again, as it proved, did he hold office. Lord John Russell now became head of a Whig ministry. He was a son of the Duke of Bedford, small in stature, shy and awkward in manners, but a man of high character, quick wit, and unflinching courage. He had long been widely known as the man who had introduced in

the Commons the Reform Bill of 1832. But he was a Whig, not a Radical; and he opposed extremists.

3. THE CRIMEAN WAR

The Wonderful Year, 1848.—It was supposed that Free Trade would foster peace. In 1851 there was held in London the first of those great exhibitions, since so familiar, in which the nations showed to one another in peaceful rivalry the products of their industry. The plan was due to Prince Albert, and he worked it out with great enthusiasm. No doubt the Exhibition aided peaceful trade among the nations, but none the less was Europe approaching a period of great wars. The year 1848 is known in European history as *Annus Mirabilis*—the wonderful year. Nations in which revolutionary action had been repressed since 1815 now turned against the old system. In nearly every capital of Europe there was uprising. The French over-

turned the liberal monarchy of Louis Philippe and set up a republic. In Germany a National Assembly at Frankfurt planned eagerly for a German republic. A rising in Vienna resulted in the flight of Metternich, the leader of the Conservative forces, not only in Austria, but in Europe. The Pope was driven a fugitive from Rome. It is true that these fires soon burned out. Instead of a German republic, a despotic German empire was soon to appear. Vienna and Rome received back their former rulers. By 1852 the French republic had become an empire, in which Napoleon III, the nephew of the great Napoleon, seized supreme power. The risings of 1848 led, not to peace and liberty, but for a time at least to war and despotism.

The Chartist Agitation.—In England there was no revolution. The rallying cry of the Radicals was for "The People's Charter" with its six points: manhood suffrage, the right of every man to vote; vote by ballot, to save the voter from intimidation; Parliaments elected for a year only, so that the people might never lose control; the payment of members, so that poor men could sit in the House; the abolition of a property qualification for members; and equal electoral districts, so that each voter should have the same voting power. It is noteworthy that all these aims have been realized except that of annual elections, which no one now wishes. The Whig aristocracy, of which Lord John Russell was a member, did not like the Charter, and either broke with the Radicals and joined the Conservatives, or formed the moderate wing of a party no longer Whig but Liberal. Even the old party name disappeared; there are still Tories, but no Whigs. During the risings in Europe in 1848 the Chartists summoned a mass meeting of supporters to present a monster petition to Parliament. In alarm the government requested the Duke of Wellington to organize the defence of London, and one hundred and seventy thousand special constables were sworn in. But the Chartist leader, Feargus O'Connor, drew back, and the weakness of the movement soon became apparent.

The people had come to understand that not violence, but votes, would be effective, and that reform was making progress. The Chartists became the Radical wing of the Liberal party.

Lord Palmerston, 1784-1865.—After Peel's support of Free Trade, the Peelites formed a middle party, neither Whig nor Tory. Peel himself was killed by a fall from his horse in 1850. The old Tory leader, the Duke of Wellington, died in 1852. Disraeli and Gladstone were still



HENRY JOHN TEMPLE, VISCOUNT
PALMERSTON (1784-1865)

younger statesmen. Lord John Russell, prime minister from 1846 to 1852, was not a strong leader, and the veteran member of the cabinet was the foreign secretary, Viscount Palmerston, an Irish peer who sat in the House of Commons.* At twenty-five he had refused the post of chancellor of the exchequer; at eighty he kept up the sports of youth, dyed his whiskers and dressed in the extreme of fashion. He was half Whig, half Tory, a man of jaunty

*The use of titles in Britain is often puzzling to the reader. It should be noted that a title of nobility does not involve membership in the House of Lords; Lord Palmerston, for instance, sat in the House of Commons. All peers of the United Kingdom are members of the House of Lords and may not sit in the House of Commons. But both Scotland and Ireland have their own peerages, whose holders possess titles. When the unions were effected, it was provided that the Scottish and the Irish peers should elect a certain proportion of their number to sit in the House of Lords; the peers of Ireland, though not of Scotland, are eligible also for the House of Commons. Other persons with titles of nobility also sit in that House. The eldest son of a peer, such as the Duke of Devonshire, takes by courtesy one of the secondary titles of his father; the Marquis of Hartington, for instance, sat in the House of Commons until he succeeded his father as Duke of Devonshire. Younger sons of members of the higher nobility also have the courtesy title of "Lord," which is placed before their Christian names. Lord John Russell was the son of the Duke of Bedford, and in a case like his the title of "Lord" means little more than the title of "Mr." prefixed to other people's names; he signed his name simply "John Russell." But, in time, Lord John was himself made a peer of the United Kingdom as Earl Russell. Then he was known, not as Lord John Russell, but as Lord Russell, and henceforth used the signature "Russell" without any prefix. When it is desired to give any one a title of nobility, and yet not to make him ineligible for the House of Commons, he is created an Irish peer.

manners and cheerful temper; without malice, but self-confident and determined. Timidity, he said, caused more wars than courage, and from the British Foreign Office went out despatches alarming in their vigour. A Briton, he said, should command the respect which met the proud Roman when he said: *Civis Romanus sum*. In 1849, when Austria brutally crushed her revolutionaries, Palmerston spoke of the "disgust" of England. He coolly ignored even the queen's protests at his tone, and when in 1851, without consulting the prime minister, he expressed approval of the seizure by Napoleon III of supreme power in France, Lord John Russell curtly dismissed him.

Lord Aberdeen's Ministry, 1852-1855.—Palmerston was popular, and within a few weeks he had brought about the fall of the Whig ministry. It was not easy to form a new cabinet. After a few months of Tory rule under the Earl of Derby, a ministry was formed by a coalition of Whigs and Peclites, in 1852, under the Earl of Aberdeen (1784-1860), in whose cabinet Russell, Palmerston, and Gladstone had place. It was said of Aberdeen that "his strength was not equal to his goodness." He was a great Scottish noble, a man of lofty character, a scholar, the pupil first of Pitt and then of Peel. But he had not the master mind to rule strong men. The ministry lacked the unity which an approaching crisis demanded, for in 1854 Britain became involved in a struggle with Russia.

The Dispute With Russia.—That vast empire had pushed its way in the far East, until it had now become a danger to India. In Europe it had designs upon Turkey and aimed to secure direct access to the Mediterranean. It threatened the existing balance of power, and the designs of the "Cossack Czar" were a terror to the English Liberals. Not Britain, however, but France, began the dispute with Russia. By a treaty made in 1740, Turkey yielded to France the custody of the holy places in Jerusalem. France had done nothing for a hundred years: most of the pilgrims were Russians. Now, when monks of the Russian church

quarrelled with Roman Catholics about rights in Jerusalem, Napoleon III, anxious to please the clericals, insisted upon France's authority under the treaty. He wished to keep the French occupied rather with foreign than with home affairs. When the Czar Nicholas refused to recognize France's claim, Napoleon was aggressive, for Nicholas treated him as an upstart. The Czar thought that Britain would support him against France, and in 1853 made startling proposals. Turkey, he said to the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, was "a very sick man." If Britain and Russia would act together, they could work their own will. Let them expel the Turk from Europe; let Britain take control of Egypt and Crete, mismanaged by the Turk; and let the European dominions of Turkey become independent states under Russian protection.

France and Britain Declare War on Russia, 1854.—The stormy Palmerston saw in the Czar's designs a serious danger to Britain's interests. Russia would be a menace, not only in the East, but also in the Mediterranean. Lord Aberdeen was for peace, but the cabinet was divided and let Palmerston have his way. In 1853 the Czar demanded the right to protect all Christians in Turkey—a right that would have made him almost joint ruler with the Sultan. When, by the advice of the British ambassador to Turkey, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the Sultan rejected this demand, Russia declared war on Turkey and destroyed the Turkish fleet at Sinope. Early in 1854 both Britain and France declared war on Russia. The allies expected Austria to act with them, but she held back. Instead, the little Italian kingdom of Sardinia joined them, with an army of fifteen thousand men, in order to assert a position of leadership in Italy that should help her to bring about Italian unity.

The Siege of Sebastopol.—Thus did Europe break the long peace of forty years. The Russians invaded Turkey but soon were driven back over the frontier. Then, to strike an effective blow at Russia itself, the allies attacked

the great Russian fortress and naval arsenal of Sebastopol, in the Crimea. Britain's army had fallen into pitiable disorder. Most of her generals were old men. Lord Raglan, the British commander, had served in the Peninsular War and fought at Waterloo; he was advanced in years and died during the war. The French army, commanded by Marshal Saint-Arnaud, was larger than the British, but on the French side, too, no general of special resource appeared, and the armies suffered from a lack of promptness and vigour. Instead of setting out early in the spring

of 1854, so as to work in the summer, the allied forces started late and did not arrive before Sebastopol until the middle of September. Even then success was within reach. On September 20th, the allies found the Russian



THE CRIMEA

army drawn up on heights above the little river Alma, near Sebastopol. They charged up the hill, and after a bloody struggle, the brunt of which was borne by the British, they put the Russians to flight. Had they pressed on then, Sebastopol would probably have fallen at once. But no leader inspired the tired troops to this work, and the chance was lost. The Russians, directed by an engineer of genius, Colonel Todleben, threw up new works, sank their fleet across the harbour mouth of Sebastopol so as to keep out ships of the enemy, and were soon ready for the long winter.

Balaclava and Inkermann, 1854.—The British, on the other hand, were totally unprepared for its bitter hardships. Though food lay only a short distance away, the troops starved, because the system of transport had broken down; the men were without proper clothing, and the sick were long uncared for. Moreover, an absurd system of red

tape hampered the action of those who tried to correct evils. Anger in England at the terrible losses by disease was so great that Lord Aberdeen resigned, and in 1855, at the age of seventy, rather to the dismay of the queen, Palmerston became prime minister. In time ills were remedied. Miss Florence Nightingale reorganized the nursing of the sick and wounded soldiers. This reform softened the horrors of war. By May of 1855 the British army was in fine condition. Meanwhile the Russians were not content to remain within their lines but made frequent sorties. On October 25th, 1854, they attacked the British at Balaclava and won a partial success. At first General Scarlett's "Heavy Brigade," in a brilliant charge, drove the Russians back to their batteries, but in the end had to withdraw. It was in this engagement that the "Light Brigade" made the famous gallant but needless charge. The French said of it: "It is magnificent, but it is not war." Yet the splendid courage shown in this and other charges on that day made Balaclava seem almost a victory. The Russians again, on November 5th, attacked the allies, who held a ridge known as Inkermann, near Balaclava. It was a desperate hand-to-hand fight, lasting for hours, a "soldier's battle," and it showed the British soldier at his best. On him the brunt of the defence fell. The allies were outnumbered three to one, but they drove back the Russians.

The Fall of Sebastopol, 1855.—For a long year the siege went on, and finally, in September, 1855, the allies attempted to carry Sebastopol by assault. The French succeeded in their task of carrying and holding the Malakoff and the Little Redan Towers; the British took, but could not hold, the Great Redan. This partial success, however, made Sebastopol untenable; the Russians destroyed what they could and left the blackened walls to the victors. The siege cost Russia one hundred thousand lives, and its anxieties killed the Czar Nicholas in 1855. His successor, Alexander II, at length yielded. In March, 1856,

a treaty was signed at Paris, by which Turkey promised reforms, and Russia agreed to keep no warships on the Black Sea and to leave Sebastopol unfortified—obligations which she disavowed in 1870, when Europe was occupied with other questions.

A British prime minister, Lord Salisbury, has said that his country, in his own sporting language, "put her money on the wrong horse" in the Crimean War. Russian ambition was, indeed, checked. The Crimean War probably kept her from taking Constantinople and becoming a Mediterranean power. But Turkey, which Britain had supported, proved to be incapable of reform, and sixty years later it fell to Britain to play the chief part in dismembering that Empire. The war cost Britain forty-five thousand lives and about seventy million pounds, and the losses of France were much heavier. In all, some six hundred thousand lives were lost.

The Indian Mutiny and the War in China.—War is as apt to breed new wars as it is to end the disputes from which they spring. The Crimean War injured British prestige in India and helped to cause in 1857 the terrible Indian Mutiny described elsewhere. At the same time war broke out in China. That great empire was coming into touch with the West. Its rulers wished to be left alone. For centuries China had led the East; even Japan had been her pupil, content to sit at her feet. The Chinese thought that other peoples were "barbarians;" all the world, they declared, owed submission to their emperor. They would not believe that the ruler of Britain was anything more than an obscure vassal whose subjects came to offer tribute. Naturally, the British, masters of India, met scorn with scorn, and frequent quarrels followed. Palmerston, foreign secretary in 1840, was bitterly denounced in England because among the traders whom he protected were those dealing in opium—a noxious drug which the Chinese wished to exclude from China. At last, to obtain redress, the British made war on China, defeated her, and by the

Treaty of Nanking, in 1842, secured Hong Kong as a British possession. They also gained for British traders the right of free entrance to five Chinese ports, including Canton and Shanghai. The British thus had a footing in China. But the governor of Canton, near Hong Kong, swore that, treaty or no treaty, he would allow no "foreign devils" within the gates of the city, and the trouble came to a head in 1856. For some alleged crime the Chinese authorities seized the Chinese crew of the *Arrow*, a small trading vessel which carried the British flag. When the British demanded redress, Yeh, who was master in Canton, not only refused to negotiate, but offered thirty dollars each for "devils' heads," that is, heads of Englishmen; and a good many were brought to him. France joined with England in demanding redress. In December, 1857, the allies took and sacked Canton. But this had little effect on Peking. For three years more there was trouble. In 1860, when the allies occupied Peking, and, for some treacherous murders, burned the great summer palace of the emperor, China signed the Treaty of Peking, which finally brought her into direct relations with European powers.

The Trent Affair, 1861, and the Alabama Question, 1863.

—Just when the war in China ended, civil war broke out in the United States. The South had become convinced that the North intended to abolish slavery, and prepared to resist a step which threatened to ruin the land-owners by taking away their supply of negro labour. Eleven Southern States declared that, having entered the union freely, they were free also to withdraw from it, and in 1861 they formed a separate union—the Confederate States of America. War broke out when the North refused to admit the right to withdraw. In England the belief was then general that the Southern States would achieve their separate independence, and they had the sympathy of many leading statesmen. The war cut off Britain's supply of raw cotton from the South and caused great distress by throwing many operatives out of work; and this added to the irritation felt

against the North. In 1861 a United States cruiser stopped a British ship, the *Trent*, upon the high seas and removed from her Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell—two envoys of the Southern States on their way to Europe. It was a high-handed proceeding, due to mistaken zeal, and it aroused in Britain intense excitement. Lord Palmerston protested with characteristic vigour, and there was real danger of war. But Abraham Lincoln, the president of the United States, in spite of much clamour against his course, admitted that the act was improper and handed over the envoys. In Britain the queen's husband, Prince Albert, helped, just before his death, to smooth the path for conciliation. A little later the United States had just cause to complain that Britain had violated the law of nations. The Confederate privateer, *Alabama*, was fitted out at a British port and allowed to go to sea in spite of warnings from the United States. She inflicted great injury upon American shipping, for which the United States held Britain responsible. In the end, as a result of arbitration, Britain paid heavy damages for the losses caused by the *Alabama*.

4. DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE

Disraeli, Prime Minister, 1868.—From the Crimean War to the end of the Civil War in the United States, Palmerston was the leading figure in British politics. At one time the queen disliked him as a firebrand, but her tone changed, and she wrote on one occasion that she would lose her reason if he were driven from office. The veteran died in office in 1865. With Palmerston in power, far-reaching change was delayed. A rising tide of opinion favoured giving the vote to the working classes. Lord John Russell, who succeeded Palmerston, could not hold his Whig followers in support of a Second Reform Bill due to Gladstone, who had become leader of the House of Commons; and the Earl of Derby, the Conservative leader, became prime minister. There were murmurs and even rioting at the delay of reform, and, to the dismay of many on his own

side, Disraeli proved what has often happened in English



BENJAMIN DISRAELI, EARL OF
BEACONSFIELD (1805-1881)

politics—that the Conservatives can go further than the Liberals in change—and carried in 1867 a Reform Bill more advanced than Gladstone's. Derby retired in 1868, and in his sixty-fourth year Disraeli became prime minister. He had a difficult role to fill, for the Conservatives had opposed reform, but now must adopt a policy acceptable to the masses of the people. The queen had misgivings about the growth of democracy, but he assured her, with truth, that

the crown had nothing to fear from giving power to the masses of the people.

Disraeli and Gladstone.—Lord John Russell had retired, and Gladstone was now the leader of the Liberal party. The new voters showed no gratitude to Disraeli, for he lost the election of 1868, and for the first time Gladstone then became prime minister. William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898), who remained to the end a commoner, and Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881), who became a peer as Earl of Beaconsfield, are the leading figures in the last half of the reign of Victoria. They stand in marked contrast. Gladstone had been serious from early youth. He was a devout high churchman and a scholar who wrote in rather a ponderous style on theology and on Homer; he possessed little humour and was intensely in earnest about everything, great and small. In early life Disraeli, on the other hand, posed as a fop and a dandy; he wrote clever novels and satires and was full of reckless and extravagant

audacity. He began as a Radical and ended as a Conservative, while Gladstone was first a Tory, then a Peelite, and in the end almost, if not quite, a Radical. Disraeli's lack of seriousness and easy adjustment of his policy to changing conditions made him seem to Gladstone, with his strong convictions, a time-server, without conscience. Both men were masters of debate in Parliament. Like other leaders of his party, Disraeli was interested in foreign and imperial, rather than in merely home questions. The Prince Consort had disliked the showy Disraeli and once said that he was not a gentleman. But by flattery which to us seems gross, Disraeli won the queen's warm friendship. He lived, he declared, only for her. He gratified her by adding to her titles in 1876 that of Empress of India. Henceforth she signed herself as "Queen and Empress" and was an oriental potentate who had replaced the Great Mogul. Gladstone had won his chief reputation in dealing with financial matters as chancellor of the exchequer. His heart was in domestic reforms. He worked in person among the fallen. The temper of his mind was in many ways conservative, for he had great reverence for the past. But he had an acute sense of existing social injustice, and he gave to the correcting of abuses and especially to reform in Ireland much anxious effort. He so dreaded war that he was charged with abandoning the sturdy attitude of Palmerston in asserting the nation's dignity.



WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE
(1809-1898)

The Unification of Italy, 1870, and of Germany, 1871.—
The years following the Crimean War, which saw many

social reforms in Britain, found the continent of Europe convulsed with war. The great struggles in Europe of the latter half of the previous century had had a principal cause in the rivalry of Britain and France for world power. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the efforts of the Italian and of the German people to effect national unity led to important struggles. In 1859 France joined Sardinia, her ally in the Crimean War, for the purpose of forcing Austria to give up her control of some of the provinces of Italy. The success of this war led, in the end, to the union of all Italy, in the year 1870. The establishment of Italian unity was soon followed by the unification of Germany. The German people had long been divided into a number of separate states. If union came, it was uncertain which of the two most powerful of these states, Austria or Prussia, would draw to itself the lesser states. In 1866 this question was settled by the appeal to the sword, when Prussia defeated Austria and ended the influence of that state in Germany. France feared a neighbour as powerful as Prussia and thought she could check her. The result was the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. At its close, Prussia, completely victorious over France, united the lesser German states with her to form the German Empire, which became then the strongest military state in Europe. Britain took no direct part in these wars, for her interests were not menaced. She was watching Russia.

Defeat of Turkey by Russia, 1878.—An election in 1874 gave Disraeli a large Conservative majority, and he continued in office for six years. In 1867, when no longer equal to the fatigues of the House of Commons, he went to the House of Lords as Earl of Beaconsfield. The agitation for Home Rule in Ireland was now acute and was to disturb British politics for the rest of the reign of Victoria. But the most critical question for Beaconsfield's administration was the policy to be adopted toward Turkey and Russia. The Turk had not reformed himself since the Crimean War. The Bulgarians, Serbians, and other peoples

whom he ruled, seeing what Italians and Germans had done to become free nations, prepared to throw off the Turkish yoke. They did not act together, and when the Bulgarians alone took up arms, they were reconquered by the Turks, with horrible barbarities. Gladstone, who could be aggressive in foreign affairs when a question of humanity was involved, now urged vehemently that the Turk should be expelled from Europe, "bag and baggage." Russia proved quite ready to undertake this task. She invaded Turkey, won victory after victory, and in 1878 was before the gates of Constantinople. At last, it seemed, Russia was to be master of Constantinople and the Balkans. She forced on Turkey the Treaty of San Stefano, which made Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania independent states, with a big Bulgaria, absorbing Macedonia, as the chief feature. The mistaken belief then was that such a state would inevitably be a mere vassal of Russia.

The Congress of Berlin, 1878.—The person most alarmed at the advance of Russia was the queen. She told Disraeli that her blood boiled at the arrogance of the Russian "barbarians," and that rather than yield she would abdicate: "We shall never be friends again, till we have it out." Russia was checked; it was Britain's fixed resolution not to allow her to hold Constantinople; and she agreed to submit the problem to a Congress of European powers which was held at Berlin in 1878. By the Treaty of Berlin the two provinces, united a few years later to form Bulgaria, were made independent states, but Turkish power was restored in Macedonia. The Turk remained at Constantinople, and, under a secret treaty, Disraeli guaranteed the integrity of Turkey in Asia, and Britain occupied the island of Cyprus. The prime minister came back from Berlin boasting that Russia had been kept out of the Mediterranean, and that he had won "peace with honour." But the Turk, "the unspeakable Turk," was left powerful in the Balkan Peninsula, and this led to later Balkan wars. Opinion in Russia was embittered, and she was soon making new trouble for India.

The Suez Canal.—An election in 1880 brought Gladstone back to power. In 1881 Lord Beaconsfield died, and the Marquis of Salisbury became the Conservative leader. He was a man of fine integrity, caustic in speech, aloof in manner, and immersed chiefly in foreign affairs. Gladstone wished to devote himself to reforms at home, but he could not keep clear of foreign difficulties. It was now Egypt which gave trouble. Napoleon Bonaparte had seen that Britain could be threatened in India from Egypt, and this was now clearer than ever. In 1869 French engineers had completed the Suez Canal. Then for the first time ships could reach India by way of the Mediterranean, and the route was thus greatly shortened. Britain, fearing that the French who built the Canal had some political design on India, at first disliked the project. Later, however, she acquired a large interest in the Canal. It happened that the Khedive Ismail of Egypt held a great many shares in the Canal Company. He was a spendthrift, and when, in 1875, he had offered to sell his shares to the British Government, Lord Beaconsfield accepted the offer. This excellent bargain gave Britain nearly half the capital stock of the Company.

Death of General Gordon, 1885.—The Khedive's affairs went from bad to worse, and at last, in 1879, Britain and France took joint control of the finances of Egypt, in order to protect the interests of her creditors. A new crisis came in 1882, when Arabi Pasha led a revolt in Egypt against this European control and seized the forts at the great city of Alexandria. Britain invited France to help to crush the revolt, but, for some reason, France declined. Then the British acted alone, bombarded the forts at Alexandria, and captured the city. General Wolseley met Arabi in battle at Tel-el-Kebir and defeated him. By these events Britain was drawn into a military occupation of Egypt. Soon trouble was renewed by a rising in the Sudan, a great desert province of Egypt on the Upper Nile, where the Mahdi, a supposed prophet of Islam, had led a desolat-

ing revolt. To restore Egyptian rule seemed so difficult that Gladstone decided to abandon the Sudan and to withdraw the garrisons. This task, which required knowledge and skill, was intrusted in 1884 to General Charles George Gordon, who had already governed the Sudan. Gordon went to Khartum, the chief city of that region, and was soon hemmed in by the forces of the Mahdi. Succour from England was sent too tardily. He held out for nearly a year, but in 1885, a few days before help arrived, Khartum fell, and he was killed.

The Re-conquest of the Sudan.

The death of Gordon shook Gladstone's power. He had hesitated and delayed while hostile forces were closing in on that lonely hero.

Gordon's Christian faith and courage appealed to the whole civilized world, and, chiefly as a result of his tragic end, the voters rejected the Liberal government in 1885. It had carried through in 1884 one great reform, by giving the right to vote to the agricultural labourer, in the Third Reform Bill. It was the Conservatives who restored British prestige in Egypt. With the Sudan left derelict, Egypt was itself in danger of being overrun by hordes from that country, under a new fiery leader, the Khalifa. It was decided, therefore, to re-conquer the province. General Kitchener was placed in command of a mixed force of Egyptians and British and sent into the Sudan to combat the vast numbers of fanatical dervishes. A great battle



THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN

took place in 1898 at Omdurman, across the Nile from Khartum, the scene of Gordon's tragic end. The Khalifa's forces displayed reckless valour, but they were mowed down in thousands by the guns of the British. Once more the Sudan came under the control of the Egyptian government, which provided a strong and orderly administration, and in time brought about great improvements in the reconquered province. The French, however, were not pleased that Britain should extend her sway on the Nile, and just at the time of the battle of Omdurman, a French force, under Captain Marchand, advanced from French territory in West Africa and appeared on the Upper Nile to claim that region for France. For a time there was danger of war between the two countries. The British government, however, declared firmly that the whole Nile valley lay within the sphere of British influence; and, in the end, France yielded this claim by a treaty signed in 1899. British control over Egypt and the Sudan was then unquestioned and not disturbed until the Great War.

5. THE IRISH QUESTION

The Famine in Ireland, 1846.—Difficult problems regarding Ireland and South Africa troubled the last twenty years of the reign of Victoria. The election of 1885, under the new franchise, had the singular result of making the Conservatives and the members from Ireland who demanded Home Rule exactly equal in number to the Liberals. This gave the Irish members the balance of power, and at once forced the Irish question to the front. To see the situation as a whole, we must look back half a century. Daniel O'Connell, who had first pressed the demand for repeal of the union, was a great orator. The Irish people hung upon his words; he could move them as he liked; but he could not arouse England to any interest in Irish affairs. O'Connell died in 1847, broken-hearted at the greatest tragedy in Irish history—the famine of 1846. By 1845 the population of Ireland, less than three millions at

the time of the union, had nearly trebled. It was not the growth of new industries that led, as in England, to such an increase; a peculiar agriculture made possible Ireland's eight and a half millions. The peasant with but a small holding found that the potato gave the largest quantity of food from the smallest area, and, in a great part of Ireland, this became almost the sole crop. In 1845 there was a partial failure of the potato; in 1846, almost in a night, a terrible blight fell upon the crop, and Ireland was left without food. The sympathy of the world was aroused; the British Parliament spent money freely, and private charity was generous. But the means of getting food supplies into the country were inadequate, and the crisis was so sudden that thousands died of starvation before an effective system of relief could be provided. Disease followed in the wake of famine; travellers passing through Ireland saw hundreds of bodies lying by the roadsides. There was a rush to escape from the country, but the emigrant ships were so over-crowded and unsanitary that in them disease was even more fatal than upon land. Within three years two millions left Ireland, and the movement has continued, until, at the present time, the population has decreased to little more than one half of what it was before 1846. Tragic as was the enforced exile of the people, it yet wrought the double benefit of giving them new homes and of relieving the pressure of population in the mother-land.

The Fenian Movement.—The year 1848 was a year of revolution in Europe, and when France became, for a brief time, a republic, some Irish patriots hoped by her aid to set up a republic in Ireland. William Smith O'Brien led an armed revolt, but it was feeble and ended in the transportation of himself and others to Australia. The condition of Ireland was now deplorable. One-third of the land-owners had been ruined by the famine. They could not pay their debts, and to relieve the situation, Parliament passed, in 1849, the Encumbered Estates Act, under which

land tied up by entail and fixed charges could be sold for the benefit of creditors. But when land was thus thrown upon the market, it was bought, not by the Irish people, but by speculators, who took advantage of the low price and proved harder masters than the old landlords. A new movement of discontent soon appeared. The close of the American Civil War in 1865 had left without occupation many restless Irish soldiers who had seen service in the War, and they planned the Fenian movement, which resulted in a wild enterprise of revolt in Ireland and a futile invasion of Canada.

The Disestablishment of the Irish Church, 1869.—Ill-judged as was the Fenian agitation, it yet served the useful purpose of calling renewed attention to the Irish problem. One great English statesman was at last aroused to the needs of Ireland. In 1869 Gladstone undertook the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Little more than one-tenth of the people of Ireland belonged to this church, modelled upon the Church of England, and yet Roman Catholics and Presbyterians alike paid tithes for its support. The grievance of the tithe, as it bore upon Roman Catholics, had been softened, in part, by a grant of twenty-five thousand pounds a year from the British government to support the college at Maynooth, near Dublin, for training Roman Catholic clergy. But a state church, alien from the masses of the people, could not endure, and in 1869, after a keen struggle, the Church of Ireland was wholly separated from the state. It retained, however, the church buildings and the endowments secured since 1660. Moreover, the existing clergy were to enjoy their revenues during life. But the other endowments were devoted to public purposes.

Tenant Right under the Land Act of 1870.—Gladstone followed the attack on the Irish Church by grappling with the land question. In England, the owner of the land paid for the farm buildings, fences, drains, and other improvements, and the tenant rented a farm equipped for

him in this way. In Ireland, however, improvements were made by the tenant. Yet, costly though they might be, they belonged to the landlord, and when the lease terminated, they went to him. The system was obviously unjust to the tenant, and in one part of Ireland—Ulster—settled by English and Scots, it did not prevail. By the Ulster system the tenant owned the improvements and might sell both lease and improvements to any one of good character. It sometimes happened that the improvements were equal in value to the land itself, and where this tenant right existed, the tenant was really a part owner and could be disturbed, even at the end of his lease, only if the landlord was willing to buy the improvements. Gladstone's Land Act of 1870 extended this right to the rest of Ireland, and thus made the tenant joint owner with the landlord.

Parnell and the Home Rule Movement.—The securing of one reform led inevitably to the demand for others. O'Connell had agitated for repeal of the union, but owing to the English distrust of an independent Irish Parliament, this demand was replaced by one for Home Rule; that is, for a Parliament which should regulate Irish home affairs without being independent. The Home Rule movement, started by Isaac Butt in 1871, only became effective a few years later, when Charles Stewart Parnell, a very remarkable man, became leader of the Irish party. Parnell, a Protestant gentleman of good family, had a passionate hatred for England, and his aim was wholly to destroy English influence in Ireland. He formed the Irish members of Parliament favouring Home Rule into a compact body under strict discipline. He also appealed to Irishmen in America to aid with money. Meanwhile, others continued



CHARLES STEWART PARNELL
(1846-1891)

the agitation in Ireland on the land question. In 1879 Michael Davitt originated the National Land League to force the lowering of rents. The land of Ireland, he said, belonged to the Irish people; and the League made a determined attack on the "rack rents," by which the landlord took from the tenant all that he could possibly pay. The policy of the League was to aid its members in resisting the demand for such rents. If the landlord would not accept a moderate rent, the tenant often refused to pay any rent at all. In the troubled times which followed, those who opposed the League were terrorized under a system that came to be known as "boycotting," because first used against a certain Captain Boycott.

The Land Act of 1881 Concedes the "Three F's."—After 1880 the disorder in Ireland was so great that Gladstone passed the Land Act of 1881 to quiet the country. It gave important aid to the tenant. No longer had the landlord alone the right to fix the rate of rent. In cases of dispute, a Land Court now had power to settle this for terms of fifteen years. This measure, which removed from the owner of property the full right of control, could be defended only on the theory, at last conceded, that the interest of the tenant, as well as that of the landlord, was permanent. But "the Three F's," which the tenant now secured—Fixity of Tenure, Fair Rent, Free Sale of lease and improvements, did not go far enough for Parnell. He kept up an agitation and urged violence so openly that he and other leaders were sent to Kilmainham jail, while the government suppressed the Land League. But all this time the thought was working in Gladstone's mind that coercion would not cure the ills of Ireland, and that further concessions must be made. In 1882 Parnell was set free, and a policy of conciliation began.

Defeat of Gladstone's First Home Rule Bill, 1886.—This policy seemed mistaken, when in May, 1882, Lord Frederick Cavendish, chief secretary for Ireland, just appointed to carry out its terms, and Mr. Burke, a high

Irish official, were murdered in Dublin. The horror at this brutal deed was such that stern repression seemed more than ever necessary. But new conditions came in 1884, when the Third Reform Bill gave votes to the masses of the people of Ireland. In the election of 1885 they sent to Parliament a solid phalanx of about seventy Home Rulers, who held the balance of power between the two great English parties. The obvious fact that his government could not exist without the support of these Irish members helped Mr. Gladstone to make up his mind to yield Home Rule. In 1886 he introduced a Bill to remove Irish members from the Imperial Parliament and to create a Parliament at Dublin with restricted powers. A further Bill provided that the government should help tenants to buy their land.

Defeat of Gladstone's Second Home Rule Bill, 1893.—

Gladstone, however, could not carry out his policy of Home Rule. The Duke of Devonshire and Joseph Chamberlain led an important section of the Liberal party, who desired the maintenance of the union and took the name of "Liberal Unionists," into an alliance with the Conservatives, and drove the Liberal Home Rulers from power. Lord Salisbury became prime minister and held office from 1886 to 1892. Agitation in Ireland went on. "The Plan of Campaign" was a league to resist payment of rent, and the Conservatives employed coercion to put it down. But they, too, in 1887, passed a Land Act, reducing rent, giving tenants increased protection, and making easier the purchase of land. Further concessions followed, and the interest was keen, when at last, in 1892, Gladstone came again into power, pledged to Home Rule. His Bill of 1893 conceded a Parliament to Ireland. Under the new plan, Ireland was to send members to both the Imperial and the Irish Parliaments. The Bill passed the House of Commons, but amidst great excitement the Lords threw it out. A little later Mr. Gladstone retired from public life, and he died in 1898. Under the Earl of Rosebery, who succeeded him as prime minister, the Liberal party was

seriously divided. The new prime minister and a good many of his followers disliked Home Rule, and for a time the question fell into the background in British politics.

The Land Purchase Act of 1903.—In 1895 the Liberals were driven from office. Lord Salisbury, the new prime minister, would, of course, not hear of Home Rule, and it seemed as if Gladstone had wrecked the Liberal party, without gaining the success for his cause which Peel had gained when he broke up the Tory party on the question of the Corn Laws. But the Conservatives found that they must deal in some way with the Irish question. From 1898 to 1902 the nation was immersed in the Boer War, but in 1903, the cabinet of Mr. Balfour, the successor of Lord Salisbury as Conservative leader, grappled with the land question, one chief cause of discontent in Ireland. The aim of the Land Bill of 1903, prepared by Mr. George Wyndham, was to transfer the land from the landlords to the actual tillers of the soil. To buy the land they required government aid, and this was now forthcoming. The bill left the landlord and tenants free to bargain as to the price of the land. When they agreed on a sum, the government was to pay this price to the landlord, with an additional bonus of twelve per cent to make him willing to sell. The tenant received the property as owner, with the right of paying for it in small annual instalments spread over so long a time (sixty-eight and a half years) that the annual payment of capital and interest would usually amount to less than his former rent. The plan, favourable to land-owner and tenant alike, won the approval of all classes, and brought near to fulfilment the dream of the Irish patriot that the land of Ireland should belong to the people of Ireland. Since 1903 a great deal of land has been bought by former tenants, and a large class of peasant proprietors has been created. For a time Home Rule was little talked of. But to it the Liberal party, which came back to power in 1906, was pledged, and on the eve of the Great War in 1914 the Irish question again

dominated British politics. We shall come to it again in dealing with that period.

6. SOCIAL CHANGES IN THE MODERN PERIOD

The Steamship and the Railway.—The French Revolution broke down old traditions, and the period which followed it was marked by change and movement. The steamship, the railway, the automobile, and the aeroplane, have effected great alterations in society, because they mean activity and movement. The steamship came first. As early as 1800 Henry Bell was experimenting at Glasgow with an engine in a boat. The steamship *Clermont*, the invention of Fulton, an American influenced by Bell, was plying on the Hudson River in 1807. Europe's course in steam navigation began in 1812, when Bell launched the *Comet* on the Clyde. But it was only in 1838 that a ship crossed the Atlantic by steam-power alone—a feat that had been declared impossible, since no ship, it was said, could carry enough coal to drive her across the ocean. It was quite clear that if steam-power could make bodies move through the water, it could also make them move on land. In 1814 George Stephenson constructed an engine, nicknamed "Puffing Billy" from its noise, which showed that the steam locomotive was possible; and by 1825 the Stockton and Darlington Railway was carrying both passengers and goods. The Liverpool and Manchester Railway was opened in 1828. After this there was a fever for building railways, and during the next twenty-five years England was covered with a net-work of lines. Stephenson boasted that he would make it cheaper for a workman to ride in a coach than to wear out energy and shoe leather in walking, and he kept his word; the poor, as well as the rich, used this new kind of carriage.

Electricity and the Engine with Internal Combustion.—Henceforth, bulky articles were readily carried by both land and sea. The railway is peculiarly a British invention, linked with the discovery of the steam-engine.

Electricity is now widely used instead of steam, and many persons, over a long period, took part in developing the use of this mysterious force in nature. The use of gas to propel an engine by internal combustion has given us the automobile and the aeroplane, with their amazing possibilities. The automobile is driving the horse from the highways and threatening the supremacy of the railways. The aeroplane, already indispensable in war, is making way as a means of transport in civil life, and great airships are able now to cross the Atlantic.

The Influence of the Telegraph upon the Newspapers.—The railway carried goods, and the daily newspaper was soon distributing ideas. Until the reign of William IV, London alone had daily newspapers, and they were very dear. A tax of fourpence on each sheet of a newspaper, and of three shillings and sixpence on each advertisement, raised the price of a daily paper to about ten pounds a year. The tax was reduced in 1836 to a penny a sheet and eightpence on advertisements, and from that time the newspaper grew steadily cheaper. In 1855, when war was going on with Russia and the public was eager to get news, the special tax was abolished. In time London had a considerable number of newspapers which sold for a penny, and at last for a halfpenny. The newspaper, while it grew cheaper, also improved as a record of the world's doings. Formerly the news from abroad came in sailing vessels, that from home points by post or special courier; and it was a great feat when couriers covered the distance from Glasgow to London in little more than twenty-four hours. But the electric telegraph changed all this. The first line was built in England in 1844. By 1850 the invention was in general use, and the newspapers soon began to rely upon it for news. At a later time, in 1866, when a cable was at last laid from Britain to America, the chief political and commercial centres were brought into immediate touch with one another, and daily news of the occurrences in all parts of the world has become almost a necessity. The

telephone has now come to supplement the telegraph and is in universal use. By wireless telegraphy messages cross the ocean. The air of remote villages is filled with music from concerts given hundreds of miles away and scattered through the free air by electric power.

The Need of a Better Postal Service.—At the beginning of Victoria's reign the charge for postage was in proportion to the distance covered. To send a letter from one part of London to another cost a penny; to send one from London to Edinburgh cost more than a shilling. Daniel O'Connell complained that an Irish labourer in England, writing to and hearing from Ireland weekly, would spend more than one-fifth of his wages on postage. Payment was usually made on delivery, and Rowland Hill has told us how his mother sometimes dreaded the arrival of a letter, lest she should not have the money to pay for it. It frequently happened that the poor, to get intelligence of each other's welfare, would agree to send only an addressed sheet of paper; this the receiver would refuse to accept from the postman, who would carry it off, but its coming would show that the sender was well. While the poor felt the heavy burden of postage, peers, members of the House of Commons, and high officials had the "franking" privilege, by which their letters were carried free of charge. Large areas of England had no postal service. Sabden, a town of twelve thousand inhabitants, where Cobden had his print-works, was without a post-office. The whole system was cumbrous and expensive. Elaborate accounts were kept with each postmaster for the unpaid letters sent to him, and the revenue was spent largely in the bookkeeping involved.

The Penny Post.—In 1837 Rowland Hill made a strenuous demand for penny postage. He proved that the average cost of carrying a letter was much less than a penny, and he urged that it was fair to make a uniform charge of a penny for all letters. But the official world arrayed itself against him. The authorities declared that the postal service could never deal with the immense mass

of correspondence which cheap postage would invite. The business world, on the other hand, supported the proposal, and in 1839 Lord Melbourne's government established the penny post. As Mr. Gladstone said, the improvement "ran like wildfire through the civilized world," and cheap postage has become one of the most important factors in modern civilization.

Sir Robert Peel Begins the Police Force.—The increase of population in London made the problem of police urgent, and in 1829 Sir Robert Peel, having already established the Irish constabulary, passed through Parliament an Act creating a metropolitan police force. What we now know as police work had hitherto been divided among a variety of officers—watchmen, thief-takers, street-keepers, etc., usually few, ill-paid, and inefficient. Peel's aim was not so much to punish as to prevent crime. By June, 1830, the London force consisted of three thousand three hundred and fourteen persons; and a police system for the whole nation, remarkable for its efficiency, was soon evolved. But in the first stages there was great opposition. The police watched the streets, checked any disorder before it became serious, and arrested vagrants who could give no good account of themselves. Violent radicals denounced Peel as attempting to introduce Bourbon militarism into England, and "Peel's Bloody Gang" came in for much abuse.

The Reform of the Criminal Law.—Hand in hand with the prevention of crime went the milder punishment of criminals. Sir Samuel Romilly worked long to soften the savagery of the criminal law. Yet when he died, in 1818, little had been done; many feared that mildness would promote lawlessness; and there were still nearly two hundred crimes for which the penalty was death. Peel gave support to reform, and by 1837 the death penalty for forgery, coining, horse or sheep stealing, and similar offences was abolished, and soon afterwards the judges imposed the death penalty for murder only. The transportation of criminals was abandoned in 1853, but the gruesome public

executions remained until 1868. Howard's agitation regarding prisons also bore fruit. In Millbank Penitentiary, opened in 1816, each prisoner was for the first time provided with a separate cell; but not until 1835 was Pentonville, the second "model" penitentiary, begun. Progress was slow, but the change has, in time, proved radical. The old type of prison has disappeared; the law now requires that every male prisoner shall have a separate cell. Much attention is paid to moral improvement, labour is compulsory, and by good conduct the prisoner can earn a remission of about one-quarter of his sentence. The system has justified itself; when Victoria began to reign, England had about fifty thousand convicts; when she died, there were fewer than six thousand.

Completion of Religious Toleration.—In Britain freedom of opinion has become complete. After the Catholic Relief Bill of 1829, any one who professed the Christian faith was free to sit in Parliament and to aid in the work of government. In 1854 religious tests were abolished for students entering Oxford and Cambridge; formerly they had been required to subscribe to the tenets of the Church of England. In 1858 Jews were allowed to sit in Parliament. The question at length arose whether a man without any religious creed might be a member of Parliament. An oath on the Bible to perform their duties faithfully was required of all members, but in 1880 Charles Bradlaugh, member-elect for Northampton, an avowed atheist and a republican, refused to take the oath. For this refusal he was unseated, and when re-elected, was expelled from the House by force. Over and over again he was re-elected and as often excluded, until in 1886 he was allowed to sit in the House without taking any oath. In the end it became clear that no man's private opinions should disqualify him henceforth from taking part in the work of government. To protect the voter in the free exercise of his judgment, Gladstone carried in 1872 a Ballot Act. Henceforth the vote was secret. An employer would not

know how his men voted and could not intimidate them for opposing him.

Health.—Increased attention to the study of nature marks the modern period. To observe her operations has become an absorbing pursuit, with many practical results. Laws which govern the health of the body have been made clear, and disease has been checked. The poor are no longer permitted to live amidst the filth formerly almost universal. Good drainage, public baths, and a proper water-supply have united to give the pure air and the cleanliness which prevent scourges like cholera from becoming epidemic in Britain. A hundred years ago any one might practice medicine; now severe tests are required for entrance to the medical profession. In former times patients were fully conscious and suffered fearfully during surgical operations; but in 1847 Sir James Y. Simpson, of Edinburgh, discovered chloroform, and through the use of this and other anæsthetics which make the patient temporarily insensible to pain, the skilful operations of modern surgery have been made possible.

Army and Navy.—The two professions of the army and the navy have also become scientific. Quick-firing guns, artillery with a range of many miles, the use of electric signals, and the telephone, have all greatly changed the art of attack and defence. The aeroplane now plays a great part in the science of war. Steam-power has made more evident Britain's advantage as mistress of the seas, for her superior navy can now use its strength in spite of adverse weather. In 1855 she began to cover the old wooden warships with plate armour. Now warships are built wholly of steel, and the control of their complex mechanism involves a high degree of scientific skill. In the Royal Navy, at the beginning of the modern period, sailors were still flogged for trifling offences. They lived in dark and unsanitary quarters and were allowed so much rum as to encourage drunkenness. In the army soldiers slept two in a narrow bed, and the food served to them was often

scarcely fit to eat. Now, in both services, comfortable quarters and good food are the rule. Yet recent wars have shown that the greater comforts of modern times have not undermined courage or the capacity to bear hardship. Gladstone swept away in 1871 the whole purchase system, by which officers in the army with money could buy promotion over the heads of more deserving but poorer men. There was a great outcry from those who had paid large sums for commissions, but the reform was overdue.

Education.—At the basis of social well-being lies education. Before the Victorian Age it was wholly in the hands of the churches or of private persons. In some villages there were no schools, and even where schools existed, no law compelled the attendance of children. Not until the Reform Bill of 1832 had Parliament given any direct aid to education, and it is to the credit of the first reformed Parliament that it voted twenty thousand pounds for this purpose. But the subsidy remained totally inadequate. After the Second Reform Bill in 1867, when Britain accepted more than two million new voters, Robert Lowe, a leading Liberal of the time, said: "We must now at least educate our masters." The new masters were eager for enlightenment, and at length, in 1870, an Elementary Education Act became law. Under this Act grants were still made to aid the private or church schools already existing, but a general scheme of state-supported education was also, for the first time, organized. Districts might now create school boards, levy taxes to support the schools, and compel the children to attend. Education is now compulsory for all children between the ages of five and fourteen. By 1920 there were six million children in the schools, and the annual cost of state education was about fifty-four million pounds. In addition, large sums are spent from private sources.

Technical Knowledge.—In manufactures superior technical skill is now required. Britain, long secure in her leading position in the world's trade, has not adopted

modern changes as rapidly as other countries. Until recently, universities like Oxford and Cambridge did little for science. But many new universities have now been founded in Britain. Every great city, such as Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, has its university. England alone has some three thousand professors and thirty-one thousand students in her universities. Schools for training in practical science are also numerous, and Britain is recovering lost ground.

Increase of Comfort.—Increased knowledge has added greatly to comfort and convenience. So small a thing as the friction match, unknown until the nineteenth century, has proved a great boon. The cottage of the mediæval labourer rarely had even candle-light; now petroleum and gas are in general use for lighting, and electric light is supplied even in small villages. Few houses are so poor as to be without a picture on the wall or a carpet on the floor; and tea, coffee, and tobacco, once luxuries of the rich, are now in use by all classes. Most towns and villages have some kind of free library which makes good reading accessible to all. Improved intelligence has justified itself; the fanatic violence that threatened to destroy London during the madness of the Gordon Riots is now scarcely possible. Friendly societies unite the poor in bonds mutually helpful. Capital and labour are alike free to protect themselves by all peaceable means. This was not always true of labour. In 1799, during the long war with France, Pitt passed a Combination Act, making it illegal for workmen to combine to secure better wages. In 1824 Francis Place, a London tailor and a Radical leader, was able to secure the repeal of the laws against such combinations. Now even the farm labourers have their unions, and Labour has become highly organized as a distinct political party.

Softening of Manners.—Manners have steadily softened. In 1825 Eton boys boxed with such savagery that young Cooper, brother of the Lord Shaftesbury who reformed the factory laws, was killed by another boy, after fighting

sixty rounds in two hours, with the school as spectators. To expose one's life in a duel was, as late as 1840, still demanded in defence of honour, but in 1844 the War Office imposed heavy penalties upon officers who took part in duels. The next year Roebuck, by bringing the matter up in the House of Commons, forced a fellow-member of Parliament, who had challenged him, to apologize, and the duel disappeared from English life. In the middle of the century the decline of prize-fighting was regarded by many as a mark of the decay of national vigour; now many regard the sport as merely brutal. Fifty years ago drunkenness caused hardly a reproach; now it results inevitably in failure in business and in public and social life. Hate is still a real but also a declining factor in politics; politicians—passing each other in the street no longer call out opprobrious names, as they sometimes did less than a century ago. Then, too, classes were divided by a great gulf, and noblemen were almost a race apart. In Britain the distinctions of rank are still marked, but the great are now less insolent, the poor less bitter, and rank is a more frequent reward of successful effort than ever before; high posts in the army are no longer closed to the common soldier, and he sometimes becomes a general. Public opinion now insists that those who have power have also responsibility, and a higher sense of duty is observable among the ruling classes; in the present age landlords would not venture to house their tenants as many of them were housed fifty years ago.

Growth of Urban Population.—Yet the present conditions of life are in some respects unwholesome. The lack of capital in agriculture has been injurious to farmers of small means, and has destroyed in England the sturdy yeomen, who, though poor, had the interest of owners in the soil which they tilled. Now those who do this work are usually hired labourers, and so universal is the system that we are apt to forget that a hundred years ago the labourer was often a partner in the products of the farm. Village life

has lost some of its old attractions, and the people now flock into the great centres of population, where there are more varied openings for education, society, and wage-earning, where thought is more alert, where amusements of all kinds are highly organized, and moving pictures, theatres, and music make the villages by contrast seem dull. By 1921 the towns had so increased that in them dwelt some twenty-eight of the thirty-seven millions of people in England and Wales. The dense and smoky air and crowded quarters make life in a manufacturing town less wholesome than life in a village, and to bring the people back to the land is a present-day problem. A chief difficulty is that the facility of transporting food products has drawn them to Britain from all parts of the world, and has so lowered prices that the profits of agriculture seem insecure. British energy is devoted more and more to manufacturing industries; less and less does Britain herself produce the food for her own people. To some this seems a serious danger, but she can meet it as long as by her naval power she commands sea communications, and, in consequence, supplies. The growth of intelligence in many parts of the world tends to make each nation more nearly self-sufficing, and the stern problem of British industry is to hold and extend its foreign markets. No other great state lives so largely by supplying the wants of other peoples.

7. LETTERS IN THE VICTORIAN AGE

Macaulay and Carlyle.—The volume of modern English literature is so great that it is possible to mention only a few writers who are in the first rank, in order to indicate the tone of the age. Accounts of secondary writers and of those who survived the Victorian Age, must be sought elsewhere. The chief figure in the world of letters, after Wordsworth died in 1850, was Lord Macaulay (1800-1859). His brilliant *Essays* made him famous while still young, but his crowning work was his *History*

of *England*. The five volumes cover only the reigns of James II and William III. Macaulay's fault as a historian is his partiality; he overpraises the Whigs. But he had a vast store of knowledge, which he made use of in a style so clear and interesting that his works were read with delight by all classes; a society of working-men formally thanked him for history which they could understand. Macaulay's contemporary, Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), was a vigorous essayist. He had an intense hatred for shams, and he attacked them with keen irony. His chief work, however, was historical. His *Frederick the Great*, *The French Revolution*, and *Cromwell* are all books of immense power, written, however, in a rugged style that repels those who have not patience to discover the author's real greatness.

Dickens and Thackeray.—The two great novelists of modern England are Charles Dickens (1812-1870) and William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1863). Dickens knew intimately the characteristics of the lower and middle classes, and he describes them with delightful humour and insight. *The Pickwick Papers* still charm many readers, and *Nicholas Nickleby*, *Barnaby Rudge*, *David Copperfield*, and others of his works are almost as popular. Thackeray's writings were never read by the masses of the people as were those of Dickens; he had not the same knowledge of their thought. The world of fashion he satirized in *Vanity Fair*; he showed scholarly taste and wide reading in *Henry Esmond*, a tale of the time of Queen Anne; and in *The Virginians*, *The Newcomes*, and other novels, and in his many essays he found play for his satirical humour. Mrs. Cross (1819-1880) who, under the pen name of "George Eliot," wrote such striking books as *Adam Bede*, *The Mill on the Floss*, and *Romola*, will always rank as a great novelist. Charles Kingsley (1819-1875), too, wrote *Westward Ho* and other novels full of vigorous life.

Ruskin and Darwin.—John Ruskin (1819-1900) has the twofold character of an art critic and a social reformer.

His *Stones of Venice* and *Modern Painters* produced a marked effect upon English taste and art. He saw with vivid intensity the beauty of nature. The sorrows of the poor troubled his spirit, and he spent much of his life in planning their betterment; but he was too full of passion and too dogmatic to lead the way to the social reforms which he desired. His lofty tone and mastery of style give him a high place among English prose writers. Another Englishman, Charles Darwin (1809-1882), ranks as a man of science rather than as a man of letters. He had a lucid style, and we owe to *The Origin of Species* and *The Descent of Man* new views as to the forces in nature which mould all forms of life. The teaching of Darwin has, indeed, profoundly affected our whole outlook on the world.

Browning and Tennyson.—Great poets have not been wanting in an age so remarkable for its achievements in prose. Robert Browning (1812-1889) and Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892) both stand in the first rank. The breadth of the poetic thought of modern England is in sharp contrast with the narrowness of the time of Pope. Browning brought to his work an original and vigorous mind, but he was not a master of harmony. His *Ring and the Book*, his dramatic sketches of character, such as *My Last Duchess* and *Fra Lippo Lippi*, and his songs in *Pippa Passes*, show great creative power. Tennyson has wonderful variety. His *In Memoriam* expresses the sorrow and the faith realized in the presence of loss. In the *Idylls of the King* he applies the legends of King Arthur to the spiritual needs of his own time. His lyrics charm us with their beauty. His odes and ballads reveal him as a sturdy patriot. In the music of his verse he achieved a perfection and range never before equalled in English.

CHAPTER XXI

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

1. SOUTH AFRICA

British Parties and Imperial Affairs.—In modern British history there are three types of problems: the first, domestic, concerned with the internal affairs of the British Isles; the second, foreign, concerned with Britain's relations to other nations and questions of war and peace; the third, imperial, concerned with the complex body of British states beyond the British Isles. The last have only slightly affected British domestic politics. Whigs and Tories differed little in opinion regarding India. Liberal movements in Canada had as much and as little sympathy from Whigs as from Tories; it was the acts of the Whig, Lord John Russell, which brought rebellion to a head in Canada. The politics of Australia were not reflected in the parties in Britain. Only in 1899, when events in South Africa led to war, did colonial problems acutely divide parties.

The Partition of Africa, 1890.—The defeat of the Liberals in 1895 brought into power a government composed of Conservatives, with Lord Salisbury as leader, and of Liberal Unionists, with Joseph Chamberlain as the most striking personality. Africa was now the storm centre of world politics. For some time Germany had been working to become a colonial power. France, Portugal, Belgium, and Italy had extensive interests in Africa. Discoveries in the interior, due chiefly to British expeditions under Livingstone and Stanley, had revealed, in part, the resources of the great continent. The result was a scramble for territory. In 1890 Britain reached an agreement with Germany, by which she recognized German East Africa

and German South-West Africa and ceded Heligoland to Germany in return for Germany's recognition of British rule in Zanzibar. Agreements followed with France and Portugal and Italy. Africa came wholly under the control of European powers. The war in the Sudan in 1898 finally established Britain's claim to be dominant in the valley of the Nile in North Africa. She held South Africa, and men began to talk of linking Egypt and South Africa by a railway from Cairo to the Cape.

Rhodes and Chamberlain.—Two remarkable Englishmen played the chief part in British Imperial affairs during the closing days of Queen Victoria. One, Cecil John Rhodes (1853-1902), the son of a clergyman, went as a youth to South Africa, seeking health, and by amazing capacity acquired a great fortune, chiefly from the diamond mines. While Rhodes was ruthless in business, his dominant passion was not to amass wealth but to extend British influence, and with it, as he believed, the freedom and happiness of mankind. When already a mature man, he returned from time to time to Oxford to keep his terms as an undergraduate, until he received his degree. To him Oxford was the noblest training centre in modern civilization, and when he died, he left a vast fortune to aid British, American, and German students to go to Oxford. Rhodes feared Germany as an aggressive power and was determined to forestall her designs in Africa by extending British rule. Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914), a Birmingham manufacturer, had begun life as a Radical. His lucid speeches and his organizing ability led to his becoming a member of Mr. Gladstone's cabinet in 1880, but he broke away on the question of Home Rule and became a leader in a third party—the Liberal Unionists. In 1895 Chamberlain was colonial secretary in Lord Salisbury's cabinet. His policy was to unite the whole British Empire by trade as well as by political ties. He wished Britain to abandon free trade, by giving a preference to the rest of the Empire as against foreign countries. He wished, too, the whole

Empire to share the burdens of a common defence and thus become invincible. He and Rhodes were of one mind as to the greatness of Britain.

The Boer Republics.—When in 1897 Victoria celebrated her sixtieth anniversary as queen, those who flocked from all parts of the Empire to London to do her honour could not foresee that, two years later, one part of the Empire, South Africa, would be rent by a great war. The Cape of Good Hope had been occupied by the Dutch in 1652 and became an important station on the trading-route to India.

The British seized it soon after the French Revolution broke out, but restored it to Holland by the Peace of Amiens in 1802. Again, however, in 1806, the year after Trafalgar, when Britain had no longer any rival on the sea, a powerful British fleet sailed



THE BOER REPUBLICS

into Table Bay, landed an army of seven thousand men, and after severe fighting established British rule. In 1815 Britain's possession of the colony was finally confirmed, and the Dutch in Cape Town and other centres settled down quietly under British rule. But the farmers (Boers) had long been almost independent. In 1833 slavery was abolished in all British dominions, including South Africa. The Dutch farmers held slaves and treated harshly the black races which dwelt near them; and now, rather than accept the new policy, they resolved to leave Cape Colony. Then began the emigration, or "trek" of the Dutch into the interior. They crossed the Vaal River, and in the end founded two states,

the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. For a time these remained free republics. But they were always at strife with the native races, whose numbers formed a serious menace to the sparse Dutch population, and at last, in 1877, with the consent of some influential Boers, the republics were annexed to the British Empire.

The Disaster at Majuba Hill, 1881.—Gladstone, who came into power in 1880, had opposed this annexation and was now met by a demand from the Boers for complete independence. To support their demand they attacked the British garrisons in the Transvaal. Desultory war followed. The Liberal government in Britain did not realize the danger, and the Boers gained some successes. At Majuba Hill in 1881 they cut to pieces a British force, killing the leader, Sir George Colley. Gladstone dealt gently with a brave little people struggling for independence. Even after Majuba he did not withdraw the terms of peace previously offered, though he might well have exacted something from the Boers, to compensate for British losses. A settlement was soon made with them on the basis of their recognizing Britain's "suzerainty," whatever this might mean, and her control of their foreign affairs. This last provision was made to keep the Boers from forming alliances with other states against Great Britain.

The Outbreak of the Boer War, 1899.—In England public opinion condemned the failure to avenge a bloody defeat. The Boer farmers, on the other hand, remained discontented. Nothing short of absolute freedom would satisfy them. Having beaten the British at Majuba Hill, they came to despise British courage, and they made up their minds, not only to secure entire independence, but also to secure a seaport. In their plans they counted upon help from the Dutch in Cape Colony. Meanwhile, the course of events brought new irritation. The vast mineral wealth of the Transvaal attracted outsiders, especially Englishmen, who, once settled in the country, began to

demand the right to vote, though they wished at the same time to remain British subjects. This demand President Kruger of the Transvaal rejected. When the British government backed up the demand of the outsiders, the Boers began quietly to spend the great revenues derived from taxes on the mining industry in securing effective equipment for war. Cecil Rhodes was prime minister of Cape Colony, and he secretly gave support to a plot against Kruger. On December 27th, 1895, Dr. Jameson, the administrator of the adjoining British territory of Rhodesia, led an armed force into the Transvaal, hoping to be assisted by a rising in the rich mining town of Johannesburg. Instead, he and those with him were made prisoners, and the incident so inflamed feeling that war soon became inevitable. In 1899 Britain, seeing what was coming, began to send troops to South Africa. Then President Kruger made a sudden demand that troops on the way should not be landed. No heed was paid to his demand, and war broke out.

Union of South Africa, 1910.—The war proved to be a terrible struggle. Chamberlain, as colonial secretary, had dealt with the Boer republics, and not Lord Salisbury, the foreign secretary. The Liberals charged that had Chamberlain shown more tact and patience war could have been avoided. No doubt, however, Kruger was both ignorant and arrogant. The Boers, though few in number, were well equipped and scattered over a vast country, which they knew thoroughly. Their first attempt was to occupy the adjoining British colony of Natal and reach the sea-coast. They succeeded in shutting up a British force of twelve thousand men in the little town of Ladysmith. While they laid siege to this place, and the British, under General Buller, tried to relieve it, British forces were poured into South Africa in such numbers that four hundred thousand troops in all were sent against the Boers. At first the British suffered reverses. Finally, Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener, Britain's two most experienced generals, were

sent to South Africa. Slowly the strength of the Boers was worn down. They failed to take Ladysmith or any other of the important places they besieged; while, by the middle of 1900, the British had occupied the two Boer capitals, Bloemfontein and Pretoria. But the Dutch farmers fought on with the tenacity of their race, and not until 1902 did the war end. It proved very costly, more so even than the Crimean War, and added greatly to the already heavy national debt of Britain. The two states were annexed to the British Empire, but a promise was given that self-government should soon be granted. The promise was nobly fulfilled by the Liberal government of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and in 1906 General Botha, who had been the commander-in-chief of the Boer army against the British, became prime minister of the Transvaal as a self-governing British colony. An even more important result soon followed. In 1910 the four South Africa colonies—Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange River Colony, and the Transvaal—united to form one great state, to be known as the Union of South Africa. It is not a real federation, for the local governments have very limited powers. To study the growth of federalism in the British Empire, we must turn to Canada and Australia.



FIELD-MARSHAL EARL ROBERTS
(1832-1915)

2. CANADA

Canada and the American Revolution.—Of the self-governing portions of the Empire beyond the limits of the

United Kingdom, Canada, with nine million inhabitants, is the most important, both in numbers and in the incidents of its history. It was French, not English, pioneers who first explored and made known the great lakes, rivers, and mountains of the interior of Canada. In 1713 the British acquired Nova Scotia (Acadia) from France. In 1755, during the Seven Years' War, most of the French Acadians were deported from Nova Scotia, with the result that to this day its population is prevailingly English in speech. In Canada, on the other hand, which was acquired in 1763 from France, the people were wholly French. In the American Revolution, Britain lost the empire which she herself had founded in North America, and by a singular turn of fortune it is the colony founded by France which is now British. Canada, a new conquest, did not join the American colonies in the revolt against Britain, but, on the contrary, repelled invasion by them in 1775. A little later, hundreds of persons who had remained loyal to the British crown left the United States to settle in the adjacent British territory. Then, for the first time, Canada acquired a considerable English-speaking population.

Rebellion in Canada, 1837.—In Canada, under the Quebec Act, passed in 1774, the government was despotic; but when the "Loyalists" from the United States came in, it was necessary to give them some voice in the control of affairs. In 1791, therefore, a Constitutional Act divided Canada into two provinces—Upper Canada, with new English-speaking settlers, and Lower Canada, chiefly French. Each had its own legislature, and now, for the first time in their history, the French in Lower Canada had the right to vote. But neither they nor the British population of Upper Canada had as yet gained complete control of their own affairs. The Governor sent out from Britain still acted without taking the advice of his ministers, and he was surrounded by officials of English origin. This type of rule the French-Canadians, in particular, detested, and in time, under Louis Joseph Papineau, a leader of great eloquence,

many began to dream of founding a French republic on the St. Lawrence. There was discontent, too, in Upper Canada; the Reformers, as they were called, led by William Lyon Mackenzie, demanding that the elected legislature should control the policy of the government. The result was that, in 1837, both Upper and Lower Canada were the scene of armed rebellion.

The Union of the Two Canadas, 1841.—The rebellions were easily crushed, but it was necessary to remove the causes of the trouble. Among the most advanced of the Liberal statesmen of the time was the Earl of Durham, a man of high character, liberal opinions, and great wealth. In 1838 Lord Durham was sent to Canada to find a remedy. He remained in the country only a few months, and then suddenly returned to England, because the Whig government of Lord Melbourne did not give him adequate support in his plans. But he prepared a masterly report, which is, perhaps, the most important document in British colonial history. He found, as he said, "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state," the French jealous of the English and holding aloof from all intercourse with them. Both French and English desired a fuller measure of self-government. Lord Durham's solution was in line with his liberal principles. He urged that all the British provinces in North America should be united under one Parliament, which should have complete control of Canadian affairs. It was not possible as yet to unite all the provinces, but the two Canadas were united under one legislature in 1841. This union by no means ended the strife of races; but it did lead to self-government, and, after a few years of uncertainty, the Canadians were left to solve their problems for themselves; and a similar policy was carried out in the other greater British colonies.

The Federation of Canada, 1867.—In Canada racial differences remained acute. The French and the English had different ideals, and each nationality demanded that the ministry of the day should be acceptable to it. The

unwritten law was observed, that a ministry must have not only a majority in the House but also a majority of the representatives from each of the former provinces, with a French and an English leader for each of the great political parties. Owing to these jealousies of race and creed no ministry could stay long in office. The experience of twenty years showed this cumbrous system to be unworkable, and at last its complete failure resulted in a plan to include all the provinces of British North America in a new Canadian union. In 1867, by a statute of the British Parliament known as the British North America Act, the Dominion of Canada, within which were now Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, came into existence; and by 1873 the Dominion included the whole of British North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific, except Newfoundland.

The Growth of Canada.—The Canadian federation was formed just after the great Civil War in the United States, and Sir John Macdonald, the Canadian statesman chiefly responsible for the union, tried to avoid dangers in the federal system revealed by that struggle. He aimed, specially, to give supremacy to the central government and to prevent any possibility of an attempt by a Canadian province to break away from the union. Accordingly, limited rights were granted to the provinces, and all power not thus defined remained with the federal government. To unite the Atlantic and the Pacific portions of Canada, a transcontinental railway was required, and the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1885. So rapid has been Canadian development that two other lines have been built across the continent. A hundred years of freedom from foreign wars, before the Great War of 1914, enabled Canada to take up in earnest the task of developing her own resources. The vast prairie-country lands of the West produce great quantities of wheat. Canada has wealth in her forests. Her mineral wealth, especially in gold, is also proving very great. In 1878 she adopted

a high tariff, behind which considerable industries have grown up. The French in Canada now number nearly two millions. In thought, in speech, and in religion, they preserve the traditions of the land from which they sprang, but are no less resolved than the English-speaking element in Canada to preserve it as a British state. The best evidence of identity of outlook with Britain is in Canada's prompt sharing in the South African War and in the Great War in Europe.

3. AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

The Discovery of Australia.—Until the American Revolution the great continent of Australia had lain long in savage isolation. The ancient world knew nothing of it and its few degraded aborigines. Navigators who crossed the Pacific in the sixteenth century missed it, until Torres, a Spaniard, apparently came in sight of it in 1606. In 1642 the enterprising Dutch, for the time dominant in the East Indies, sent Tasman to look for the long-talked-of continent. He reached Tasmania and New Zealand. But no colonization of this "New Holland" followed. Dampier, a half-piratical sea-rover, was the first known Englishman to set foot in Australia. This was in 1688, and for about a century thereafter Europe left the South Sea to its native occupants. At last a great mariner took up the work of discovery. In 1769 Captain James Cook, who had been with Wolfe at Quebec and had charted the St. Lawrence, sailed round Cape Horn to New Zealand and mapped its coasts. He raised the British flag in Australia, at Botany Bay, but made no attempt at settlement in the southern continent.

The Convict Settlement at Sydney.—Then came the American Revolution. For a long time convicts had been sent out from Britain to work on the American plantations. But with the Revolution this practice of course stopped; and then the British government found itself burdened each year with some five hundred convicts, of whom it

had formerly rid itself without expense. Only when Britain decided henceforth to send them as colonists to Australia did Australian history really begin. In January, 1788, two British men-of-war, six transports, and three store-ships sailed into Botany Bay. Of the eleven hundred on board, seven hundred and fifty were convicts. A few days later, two French ships arrived off the coast. They may have had some intention of raising the French flag, and the saying that Britain won Australia by six days has this basis of truth. Philip, the leader of the British expedition, decided to make his settlement, not at Botany Bay, but at what is now Sydney. Convicts are not good colonists. One of them wrote:

True patriots we, for be it understood,
We left our country for our country's good.

But it was hardly for Australia's good, and there was much disorder. The land, however, was fertile. In time great mineral wealth was found. The transportation of convicts was stopped, and free settlers soon changed the character of the population.

The Colonies of Australia.—Soon after Sydney came into being, the vast resources of Australia were at length realized. The growing of wool, Australia's great industry, began on a large scale in 1805. The natives, few and weak, gave little trouble, and while the mother-country was occupied in the long war with Napoleon, her sons were forming a new nation in the Southern Sea. In Tasmania, a separate island, colonization began in 1805, but Melbourne, the nucleus of the colony of Victoria, and now a city with not far from a million inhabitants, was founded only in 1835. Queensland in the north, with Brisbane as its capital, was not opened to settlement until 1842. Tasmania, Victoria, and Queensland, all daughters of New South Wales, were long subject to the authority of the government at Sydney. But the extensive and not very attractive stretches of the western coast were not within the bounds of New South Wales, and the fear that the

French might establish a port on that coast led to a permanent British settlement there in 1825, and in the end, to the establishment of the colony of Western Australia in 1829. The great intervening, and in some places very fertile, area between Western Australia and New South Wales and the other colonies on the east coast was formed into the immense province of South Australia in



1836. With the exception of the vast and chiefly desert stretch of country known as the Northern Territory, for the time administered by South Australia, this completed the division into six colonies of this immense island. By 1859 the colonies were all entirely independent of one another, and, sharing in the results of the victory for autonomy in Canada, they, too, had almost complete self-government.

The Settlement of Australia.—For years the colonists of Sydney were unable to penetrate beyond the precipices of the Blue Mountains, which shut them in along a narrow strip of coast; but in 1813 adventurous explorers discovered a means of access, and the rich grazing lands of the interior then became available. There is still no railway across Australia, and vast tracts of the interior are almost unexplored. Soon after the great inrush of gold-seekers into California in 1849, gold was discovered in Australia. In the colony of Victoria, in particular, this discovery led to a rapid growth of population. The climate has proved favourable to Europeans. Except in the mountainous districts, frost and snow are unknown, and owing to the dry air the heat, though great, is endurable. For a time emigration from Britain to Australia almost ceased, and the country depended upon the rather slow natural increase of population. Now, however, there is a revived movement from Britain to Australia. Its five million people are likely greatly to increase in the near future. Ninety-five per cent of the inhabitants of European origin are of British descent. Within the borders of Australia there has hardly been the sound of war. Nelson's victory at Trafalgar left Britain so strong upon the sea that no hostile fleet has been able to approach Australia. Even when vast stretches of the coast remained unoccupied, Britain was able to warn off intruders and to make good her claim to the whole country.

The Commonwealth of Australia, 1901.—The Australian colonies followed the example of Canada, not only in securing complete constitutional liberty, but also in perceiving the advantages of federation. In 1900 the British Parliament passed the necessary Act, and on January 1st, 1901, the Commonwealth of Australia came into existence. It is the second great federal state within the British Empire. The resemblance between the Australian and Canadian systems is marked, especially in the provisions that the ministry of the day is responsible to Parliament, and that

an appeal to the electors may take place at any time; but, in some other respects, the newer federation has followed more closely the pattern of the United States. Its divisions are not provinces but states; it has an elective Senate, instead of one appointed by the crown, a House of Representatives instead of a House of Commons; and the **states** in Australia, as in the United States, retain all the powers not assigned to the federal government, in contrast with Canada, where the powers of the provinces are strictly defined. When the Great War came in 1914, the manhood of Australia faced sacrifices which impressed the whole world.

The Founding of New Zealand.—The island of Tasmania is a part of Australia, but New Zealand, a thousand miles distant, has remained separate. Its length of nine hundred miles gives some idea of its extent, which, however, is small as compared with that of Australia or of Canada. When and how these important islands were peopled we do not know. In 1642 the Dutchman, Tasman, sailed along the coasts and saw natives. He did not land, but he named the islands New Zealand. In 1779 Captain Cook charted the coasts and declared the islands British—an act repudiated by his government. New Zealand long lay derelict. Missionaries went there and found the virile natives, the Maoris, engaged in bloody tribal wars. Only when, in 1840, it was clear that France intended to occupy New Zealand did Britain claim it. Emigration followed. By 1856 New Zealand was governed by its own Parliament. For thirty years there was fighting with the Maoris, who in the end were so merged with the British element as to form a united people. To-day some of the political leaders in New Zealand are Maoris.

The Dominion of New Zealand.—The climate is moist and cool, and sheep, and in a lesser degree, cattle, form a large part of the riches of New Zealand. There is coal in abundance, and gold, iron, copper, and other ores have made mining attractive. The two thousand white people

of 1840 have now increased to more than a million. In 1908 New Zealand took the rank of a Dominion and was no longer to be regarded as a colony. In politics it has made advanced social experiments. Public opinion is intensely British. In the Great War New Zealand played a noble part. These beautiful mountainous islands in the South Sea form one of the most favoured spots in the world.

4. INDIA

India, a Continent, not a Nation.—India, which has more than three hundred million people, is in reality an isolated continent, approached only across difficult mountains or by sea. There has never been an Indian nation. Instead, we have many states, with long traditions of strife among themselves. India has at least forty distinct races, more than twenty languages in common use, and many religions, of which the Hindu and Islam are the most important. No one Indian state was ever strong enough to dominate all, and the unity of India has always been in the uncertain mastery of an alien conqueror. The only difference between British supremacy and earlier ones is that the British Raj, or rule, whatever its faults, has brought peace and order to all India. In the sixteenth century, Moslems coming, not for the first time, through the mountain passes from Central Asia, set up at Delhi the dynasty of the Great Mogul, or Mongol, which for a long time ruled nearly all India. Its most formidable enemy was the Mahratta clans, Hindu in faith, holding a good part of western and central India. Their chiefs were Brahmins of pure blood and often of commanding character. By 1750 they had so weakened the Mogul Empire as to be themselves the strongest native power in India. For a time it seemed as if, at last, Indians might dominate all India.

The British Raj.—The population of India consisted chiefly of peasants engaged in agriculture and anxious only to be left in peace to live their monotonous lives. They had no semblance of self-government but were ruled by

despotic princes, some of whom were capable, and some depraved and brutal. The politics of India were concerned chiefly with struggles among leaders for power and booty. The Mahrattas had a hundred thousand cavalry, which swept through India, plundering and levying tribute. These methods forbade that they should be the strong power to guarantee peace and security. Because the Raj of the Great Mogul had broken down, the British Raj was destined to take its place.

The End of French Influence.—Clive's victory at Plassey, in 1757, made the British masters of Bengal, where they repressed brigandage and preserved order. After this for years their rivals were not Indians, but other Europeans—the French, who secured influence with native rulers. These made a long fight, but they could not prevail against British sea-power, which cut off support from France. The man who really ended French hopes was Warren Hastings, the first governor-general. This office was created in 1773 and was followed in 1784 by a Board of Control in England, with one member a cabinet minister. After Clive, ruthless British traders and adventurers continued, for a time, the old native game of plunder. The British government, unwisely, as in the end was clear, preferred, while itself directing Indian policy through the governor-general, to let the East India Company carry on the government. Hastings had the double task of saving British authority in India and of seeing that the Company secured good dividends. No doubt, in the atmosphere of the East, he exercised at times oriental highhandedness in raising money, but his firm will saved India from anarchy and had by 1783 ended French ambitions to displace the British as the sovereign power. Later, indeed, as we have seen, Napoleon planned to march to India. When he failed, the British faced two dangers—one from those in India itself who resented their rule; the other from assailants coming down through the mountain passes. With Britain's scant forces in India, both were formidable.

The Mahratta Wars.—It was certain that, as the British grew strong, jealousy of their power would increase. The Marquis Wellesley, who went to India in 1798, laid down the principle that in the interests of order in India one power must be supreme. The native rulers must accept the British Raj. This policy some native states challenged, and the leaders treasured elusive promises of French aid. The powerful Moslem leader in the south, Tippoo, Sultan of Mysore, son of Hyder Ali, who had been the ally of the French and died in 1782, tried it first, and perished in 1799, when his fortress capital of Seringapatam was stormed by Sir Arthur Wellesley, brother of the governor-general. Most of Mysore was then annexed by the British. The Mahrattas, who had fought Hastings and levied tribute on nearly a hundred million people, tried next. War broke out in 1803 and ended in the checking of the Mahratta power, chiefly by Wellesley's victory at Assaye. The North-West Provinces then came under British rule. But the Mahrattas, too weak to face the British, still were able to overrun great parts of Central India, including Rajputana and Hyderabad. In these states burnings, torture, and devastation in the native states, by bands of cavalry, spelt anarchy; while within the British states there was order and security. All this made war with the Mahratta princes again inevitable. It lasted from 1816 to 1818, with the result that the Deccan and other territory became British. The secret of British success was that every extension of their rule meant stability in the annexed states. This many opposed at first to British rule at length acknowledged. In the later trying days of the Mutiny, the Mahratta princes stood firmly on the British side.

The Burmese and Sikh Wars.—Victory over the Mahrattas made possible British supremacy over all India. But it was still challenged. East of Bengal, Burma was so aggressive a state that it needlessly provoked war by invading British territory. Two years of hard fighting ended in 1826 by the annexing of most of the sea-coast of Burma.

The last important people to defy the British were the Sikhs of the Punjab. When their ruler, Britain's friend, Ranjit Singh, died in 1839, the great army which he had created desired a fight, and, like the Burmese, invaded British territory. The result of the two Sikh Wars was, in 1849, the annexation of the Punjab. Two types of government continued in India. Three-fourths of India was simply annexed to the British Empire and ruled under governors, like any other British province. But over about one-quarter of India, in some seven hundred states, great and small, native rulers were left in control, subject to their having no power to make war or peace, or to keep up armies beyond a fixed limit, or to misgovern their people. Thus the British Raj covered all India.

The Menace from Russia.—By 1830 the British were acutely conscious that Russia, advancing across Central Asia, was their one deadly menace in India. The mountain state of Afghanistan lay between Russian and British territory. Its warlike tribes had a fierce sense of independence, which a foolish governor-general outraged. In 1839 Lord Auckland, in a panic about Russia, intrigued to overthrow Dost Mohammed, the capable Ameer, or ruler, of the Afghan tribes, and put in his place a rival claimant, Shah Shuja. To support him, a British army of four thousand five hundred men occupied the Afghan capital, Kabul. The Afghan tribes had their revenge. In the dead of the winter of 1841-42, they forced the British to withdraw. The army of some eight hundred European and nearly four thousand native soldiers, together with about ten thousand camp followers, was attacked by murderous tribes in the mountain passes, and a single survivor, a physician, reached safety in India. In the same year the British re-occupied Kabul. But they agreed that Dost Mohammed should be restored as Ameer, and during many years they left Afghanistan alone. The strength of the British was in their prestige, as being stronger than any other power. The

Afghan War lowered this prestige, but it had revived when the Crimean War broke out in 1854.

Changes in India.—We speak of the changeless East. Ancient peoples turn slowly and reluctantly from accustomed ways. To India had come rulers from a Europe seething with change. The Earl of Dalhousie, governor-general from 1848 to 1856, was young and ardent. Rulers, he said, exist only to promote the good of those whom they rule. Dalhousie built roads, canals, railways, and telegraph lines. He introduced cheap postage. A predecessor, Lord William Bentinck, had challenged Indian conservatism by abolishing *sati* (*suttee*)—the practice of burning alive a wife when her husband died. Yearly hundreds of these widows were burned, and in 1833 Bentinck had made this ancient religious rite the crime of homicide. Dalhousie asserted the doctrine of lapse. Hitherto, when a male heir failed in the direct line, a ruler might hand on his rights to an adopted son. This saved the native dynasty, but it led to intrigue and abuses, and Dalhousie declared that, when a line died out its rights lapsed to the British power. The result was that some ancient lines faced a prospect of extinction, and that ambitious candidates for adoption saw the prospect fail. All these things caused ferment. The British, it was said, aimed to destroy India's ancient customs and make India like England. Even the thought of the East was to be subject to the West.

The Causes of Mutiny.—During the Crimean War Britain won no laurels as a great military power, and exaggerated stories of defeats reached India. With the growing belief in Britain's weakness was linked a superstition that her rule, established by the victory at Plassey in 1757, was, by a decree of fate, doomed to end exactly a century later—in 1857. Native pride increasingly resented the dominance of the outsider. Christian missionaries were active, and the British, it was whispered, meant to force even their religion on India. In the army were now more than 300,000 native troops and fewer than 40,000 Euro-

peans. In 1856 the new Enfield rifle was served out to the troops. The soldier then had to tear with his teeth the glazed paper containing the powder in the greased cartridge, before slipping it into the barrel, and the report spread that the cartridges were smeared with grease from cows and pigs. There was this truth in the rumour—no care had been taken to ensure that such grease should not be used. To the Hindu the cow is sacred; to the Moslem the pig is accursed. Insult seemed thus to be directed against both these religions, with the alleged aim to defile the soldier, make him a despised outcast among his own people, and thus the more willing to take refuge in Christianity.

The Mutiny.—In May, 1857, native troops at the greatest military station in India, Meerut, near Delhi, rose, butchered all the English on whom they could lay hands, and marched off to Delhi. Here they declared British rule at an end and proclaimed as their lawful sovereign the surviving descendant of the Great Mogul, who was living at Delhi on a pension from Britain. The outbreak was confined to the Sepoys, that is, the native soldiery, in the Bengal Presidency. Bombay and Madras remained quiet. and even in affected districts the people as a whole took little part in the struggle. None the less were the results terrible. The rebels were soldiers in mutiny, and they knew that, if vanquished, they would be punished with the rigour of military law. For them, therefore, the war was relentless; pledges and mercy alike they disregarded. As the news of the rising came in, the British were both horrified and maddened by the pitiless massacre, not merely of men, but of helpless women and children.

The Siege of Delhi.—At Calcutta, the governor-general, Earl Canning, son of a former prime minister, George Canning, who succeeded Dalhousie in 1856, had the task of sending troops to the interior. Many weary weeks passed before adequate help could be obtained from Britain. Far up the country beyond Delhi, Sir John Lawrence was

administering the Punjab, and, cut off from Canning by the mutineers, as he was, he had to act on his own initiative. Every one trusted him, and by his great tact he saved the Punjab from joining in the rising and was able to make it the basis for recovering Delhi. There, with brutal ferocity, the mutineers had massacred young and old, until not a Christian was left alive in the place. The cruel victors were not left long to enjoy their triumph. Within a month Lawrence had sent an army against Delhi. This was the first vital check to the mutineers. They held out in Delhi for a long time; but instead of sweeping everything before them, they were themselves besieged in the capital of the Mogul emperors.

Massacre of Cawnpore.—Meanwhile, a little farther down toward Calcutta, the struggle was going badly for the British. The province of Oude had been only recently annexed, and here Sir Henry Lawrence, brother of Sir John, was in command. When the rising began, Lawrence entrenched himself in the governor's residence at Lucknow and prepared to hold out. The rebels attacked him fiercely, but, though Lawrence himself was killed during the siege, they could not conquer the few hundred British and loyal native troops who held the Residency. At Cawnpore, forty miles away, the mutineers were more successful, and it was there that the worst outrages occurred. Two hundred and forty British soldiers in Cawnpore had the task of protecting eight or nine hundred non-combatants against thousands of foes who besieged the place. The rebel leader was the Nana Sahib, a Mahratta prince, who had a grievance against the British government, because an enormous pension, enjoyed by his adopted father during life, had not been continued to him. In the end the British agreed to surrender Cawnpore if they themselves were sent in safety down the Ganges to Allahabad. The Nana Sahib took a solemn oath to do this, but when the boats were loaded, his men fired upon them, and a fearful massacre followed. Some two hundred women and children were still

in his hands, and they also met an awful fate. When a British force under General Havelock was drawing near Cawnpore, the Nana Sahib hacked his prisoners to pieces, and the dead, and others still faintly breathing, were alike thrown into a deep well.

Relief of Lucknow, 1857.—General Havelock, sent forward by Canning, recaptured Cawnpore on July 17th. His march was made in terrible heat. Yet he won four victories and advanced one hundred and twenty-six miles during the last nine days of his effort. Though Lucknow was so near, the country was held by the mutineers, and Havelock had to fight every step of his way there. For a time he was driven back to Cawnpore. In September, however, he managed to relieve the garrison, but only to find himself besieged in Lucknow. Not until November was the place finally rescued, and a few days after its relief Havelock died. Delhi, the British took by assault on September 20th, after fighting their way step by step through the streets of the city. By this time reinforcements were pouring in from Britain, and the spring of 1858 saw the end of the rising.

The India Bill, 1858.—The mutineers were sternly punished. Though the chief criminal, the Nana Sahib, escaped, some of those most guilty were blown from the mouths of cannon. The Mutiny showed that the natives, without unity of aim, could not stand against British union and discipline. Moreover, the peasantry had not proved hostile to British rule. It was, as many of them well understood, the one security against an era of pillage and disorder in India. The Mutiny led to a complete reorganization of the government. Dalhousie's doctrine of lapse was given up, to the satisfaction of the native princes. By a new India Bill passed in 1858, the political power of the East India Company ended, and India came directly under the queen as sovereign, and was to be ruled by a viceroy, whose policy should be directed by a secretary of state for India, responsible to the British Parliament. Britain guaranteed liberty of opinion. "Firmly relying ourselves on the truth

of Christianity," said Queen Victoria in assuming the direct government, "and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects." To this policy Britain has been true, even at risk to herself; for liberty has sometimes been used to promote sedition.

The Annexation of Burma, 1886.—After the Mutiny there was a long period of comparative rest in India. Liberals ridiculed Lord Beaconsfield's flattery of the queen, by proclaiming her on January 1st, 1877, Empress of India, but it was probably a wise step. The East is impressed by rank and ceremony, and the Empress became in the public mind the successor of former imperial rulers of India. The frontiers of India expanded. Burma was ruled by a succession of arrogant despots, who thought themselves the equals of the greatest monarchs of the world. King Thebaw, a bloody-minded ruler, executed, in 1879, a number of Burmese princes and showed a brutality and incapacity which led to anarchy. At last, in 1885, the British advanced to Mandalay, the capital, and on January 1st, 1886, they annexed Burma.

The Menace from Russia.—The menace to India came still from Russia. In 1878, when Shere Ali, the Ameer of Afghanistan, received a Russian mission at his court with honour, but declined to receive a British envoy, Britain declared war and quickly drove out the Ameer. He soon died, and the British made peace with his son, Yakub Khan, on terms which put the mountain passes within the British frontier. This the Afghan tribes resented. The British resident at Kabul, Sir Louis Cavagnari, was brutally murdered; and in a new war, Sir Frederick, afterwards Earl, Roberts, marched to Kandahar in 1880 and set up a new Ameer. In the end Britain recognized that Afghanistan should be left an independent state, and this policy is still pursued. The Russians were active in Tibet, the great obscure land across the Himalaya mountains, and when Tibetans encroached on British territory, the British

marched to the capital, Lhasa, in 1904. In the end terms were made which forbade either Russia or Britain to molest Tibet.

The Beginning of Self-government in India.—Other forces, however, were creating new problems. In 1904 Japan defeated Russia: the East had checked the West in war. From this time is dated the unrest due to the demand for equality between Europeans and Indians. Educated Indians asked for a share in the government and formed a National Congress, which met yearly to press this demand. One of the weapons used was the boycott of British manufactures. British Liberals supported reforms in India. In 1907, two Indians, one a Moslem, the other a Hindu, were appointed to the Council of the Secretary of State for India. On November 2nd, 1908, the fiftieth anniversary of the taking over of the government by the crown, Edward VII, as emperor, issued a message to the people of India endorsing the justice of their claim to a greater share in legislation and government. The Indian Councils Act followed in 1909, under which a majority of the members of the provincial councils were to be elected, and the councils were to give advice in respect to finance and other matters.

India and the Great War.—There followed soon, in 1914, the crisis of the Great War. Germany was now the menace, and Britain the ally of both Russia and Japan. When the war began, India did its share with fervour equal to that of other parts of the Empire. It recruited more than a million men, and the Indian princes showed eager loyalty. But political unrest was increased rather than lessened by the events of the war. All over the world even obscure peoples were demanding self-government, and Indians claimed the right to make India like Canada and Australia—a free state in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Dyarchy in India.—There were two sides to the agitation in India. On the one hand, fanatics began to assassinate British officials. On the other, the Hindu leader, Ghandi,

a man of good character but extreme views, led in a policy of passive resistance. In England there was an earnest wish to satisfy India. The War had been fought for liberty. The Government of India Act of 1919 made far-reaching changes, with the result that on February 9th, 1921, was opened a Legislature for India, with two Chambers, a Council of State of not more than sixty members, and a Legislative Assembly of one hundred and forty-four members. Its powers are limited, but are as great as those of the colonial legislatures of three-quarters of a century ago, which have since ripened into full parliaments. The Governor-General carries on the government of all India, with a nominated Executive Council. In addition, each province of India is under a Governor, with an elected Legislative Council. Some subjects, called transferred subjects, such as education, municipal government, public health, and public works, are controlled by the elected Legislative Council; others, called reserved subjects, are in the hands of the Governor, with one European and one Indian as his advisers. The system is called a Dyarchy, which means a division of power between two authorities in each Indian province. The new system has only just started and is not yet tested. But it goes a long way toward the creation of a federal system in India.

The Unrest of To-day.—On April 13th, 1920, a great and excited mass of people had assembled in the city of Amritsar, in the Punjab, in spite of a proclamation forbidding such assemblies. A dangerous rising was feared, and, when the crowd grew riotous, General Dyer, without warning it to disperse, ordered his troops to fire into the mass of unarmed people. For ten minutes round after round was fired, and nearly four hundred people were killed and three times as many wounded. Naturally this enraged the Indian population. An inquiry followed. General Dyer was condemned for acting without judgment and was retired on half-pay. The incident greatly stimulated Indian discontent, and when the Duke of Connaught

went to India in 1921 to open the new Parliament, he found intense bitterness, as did also the Prince of Wales when he visited India in 1922. In relation to self-government, we must remember that only one in ten of the males in India can read or write and but one in a hundred of females. The seventy million Moslems have no real unity of thought with the two hundred million Hindus, themselves divided into more than sixty castes, with Brahmins counting themselves tainted by even sitting near a low-caste person. So little unity is there in India that, were the British to withdraw, big states would begin, as of old, to prey on little states, and anarchy would probably return.

The British Empire To-day.—A glance at the British Empire as it exists to-day in all the continents calls up vivid episodes in history. In Europe we have the Channel Islands, the last remnant of Normandy to be ruled by English kings; Gibraltar, taken from Spain; Malta, held since the Napoleonic wars; Cyprus in the Mediterranean, taken from Turkey. Three ancient lands—Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia—are not British territory, but have been freed from the Turk by Britain, and are now under her protection. In Asia we have Aden and other regions bordering on Arabia, now British territory; India, with its many millions all under the British Raj; Ceylon, taken from the Dutch; farther east the Straits Settlements and the Malay States, more peaceful under British rule than ever before; Hong Kong, taken from China. In Africa the extent of British territory is bewildering—the varied regions of West Africa, South Africa, and British East Africa, with St. Helena, Mauritius, and other islands. Nearly the whole continent of Australasia is British. In North America are Canada, Newfoundland, and the principal islands of the West Indies, including the great island of Jamaica taken from Spain; in South America, Honduras, British Guiana, and the Falkland Islands. Over all these lands British influence is supreme, and the Great

War to which we now turn shows that they were one in sympathy in the hour of danger.*

The Imperial Conference.—No one government controls the British Empire. Legally, indeed, the British Parliament is supreme over the whole Empire. But Canada and Australia, for instance, are completely self-governing. They make their own laws and control entirely their own finances. In spite of varieties of government, the British Empire is under one sovereign, the King-Emperor, and all who control the government of any part of the Empire are his counsellors. To further agreement in outlook, there was called in 1887 a Colonial Conference, which soon changed its name to the Imperial Conference. It meets not less frequently than once in four years. In it sit representatives of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India. It has no power to legislate, it is simply a Conference of those governing the Empire; but by such Conferences far-reaching co-operation has been effected.

*The population of the British Empire by continents is roughly estimated in 1922 thus:

Europe	47,500,000
Asia	324,000,000
Africa	44,000,000
America	11,700,000
Australasia and Oceania	6,500,000

433,700,000

Of this population about 65,000,000 are white people of European descent. The British Empire includes about one-quarter both of the people and of the area of the earth. Within the Empire the Hindu faith has about 210,000,000 adherents; the Moslem about 96,000,000, the Christian about 70,000,000.

CHAPTER XXII

THE GREAT WAR

1. THE FINAL SUPREMACY OF THE COMMONS

Succession of Edward VII, 1901.—The death of Queen Victoria in 1901 saddened the whole British Empire. She had come to occupy a unique position in the world; probably no other sovereign was ever so widely respected or so generally mourned. Her successor, Edward VII, had already reached the mature age of fifty-nine. He was very popular. Unlike his father, Prince Albert, he loved English sports. If he lacked the lofty morality of that prince, he had superior tact. Critical times were near, and Edward's knowledge of continental life was valuable. The British had been irritated by the bitter attacks of the French and German press during the South African War. The struggle



EDWARD VII

ended in 1902, and this cleared the way to better understandings. The Conservatives were in office from 1895 to 1906. Their leader, Lord Salisbury, retired when peace was signed and was succeeded by his nephew, Mr. A. J. Balfour. He had already shown an iron will in suppressing crime in Ireland. While he affected a certain aloofness and seemed a man given to letters and art rather than to action, he was in reality an astute leader. His cabinet was divided between free-traders, led by the Duke of Devon-

shire, and those led by Mr. Chamberlain, who were ready to tax even foreign food in order to give a preference within the British dominions. The division was acute, and in 1903 not only the supporters of Free Trade but also Mr. Chamberlain resigned. For two years still Mr. Balfour stayed in office, halting between Free Trade and Tariff Reform. An election in January, 1906, was decisive. The Liberals, under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, came in with an overwhelming majority in favour of Free Trade.

The Parliament Act, 1911.—Financial matters were pressing. While the Boer War had piled up a heavy debt, new demands were urged on the Liberal government. In 1908 pensions of five shillings a week for needy persons who had reached the age of seventy were granted. They cost annually about nine million pounds, and added revenues were necessary. In 1908 Mr. Asquith became prime minister. When the new chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George, proposed his taxes, including a heavy one on land values, an acute situation arose. Hitherto the House of Lords had never rejected a budget passed by the House of Commons. But, in 1909, to the anger of the Liberals, it took this step. Mr. Asquith appealed to the country in January, 1910, and came back with a majority. The Commons then adopted resolutions providing: (1) that when the Lords failed to accept a money bill passed by the Commons, it should after a month become law, even if the Lords withheld their consent; (2) that other than money bills might become law without the consent of the Lords, if passed by the Commons in three successive sessions, and two years had elapsed since the first introduction; (3) that the life of Parliament should be for five instead of seven years. Just at this time King Edward VII died, and over his grave party strife for a time ceased. But the Lords would not yield, and for the second time within the year 1910 an election took place on the issue. Again Mr. Asquith had a majority. The Lords gave way to public opinion, and the Parliament Bill of 1911

embodied the terms of the resolutions named above. After a long struggle the House of Lords had at last been put on a level definitely lower than that of the House of Commons.

George V, 1910.—During the reign of Edward VII foreign affairs passed through critical stages. Germany was proclaiming her resolve to become powerful on the sea. France was angry, because checked by Britain in Africa. Russia was causing alarm in India about her designs. King Edward took personally some part in easing the situation, and he earned for himself the title of The Peacemaker. His many personal friendships smoothed away difficulties. In the East in 1904, Japan and Russia went to war, and the defeat of Russia revealed her weakness. France, Russia's ally, had seen before the war the need of British support, to confront the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy, and in 1904, not a treaty, but an understanding (*Entente Cordiale*), was reached between France and Britain. Britain was conceded a free hand in Egypt, France in Morocco. In 1907, Russia, chastened by defeat, also joined this Entente, and the menace to India was eased.

2. THE EVENTS WHICH LED TO THE GREAT WAR

Home Rule Again.—The question of Home Rule now became acute. The Lords had always blocked Home Rule, endorsed twice by the Commons in the days of Gladstone, but now their power was checked. Accordingly, in 1912, the Liberal government passed a Bill, creating for Ireland a Parliament with limited powers and reducing the number of Irish members in the British House of Commons from one hundred and three to forty-two. The Bill was bitterly opposed by Sir Edward Carson, the Ulster leader, and the House of Lords rejected it. In 1913 the Commons again passed the Bill, and the Lords threw it out. If passed once more in 1914 by the Commons, it would become law without the assent of the Lords. Sir Edward Carson declared that Ulster would resist the Bill by force of arms

if necessary, and, in the spring and summer of 1914, Ulster volunteers were drilling with this avowed purpose. Many Ulstermen signed a solemn Covenant never to accept the authority of a Home Rule Parliament. Each side in Ireland armed. When the Bill passed the House of Commons for the third time in May, 1914, and required only the formal assent of the king, Ireland seemed on the verge of civil war.

The War-cloud in Europe.—The danger of war in Ireland was soon merged in the vaster reality of a world war. The air of Europe was charged with strife. In 1912 Italy seized Tripoli, a Turkish province in North Africa; and the Balkan States, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece united to end Turkish power in Europe. In 1913 these Balkan States, after winning the war against Turkey, quarrelled over the spoils. All this caused searching of heart among the powerful neighbours of Turkey. Russia was resolved to keep a path clear to Constantinople and the Mediterranean. Serbia was planning, with Russia as protector, to unite with other Slav-peoples in the Balkans and to create a great Slav state. Austria had her own designs. She was nervous about unrest in her Slav provinces. Behind Austria was her ally, Germany, ambitious to use Austria to secure access to, and domination in, the vast region stretching across the Turkish Empire to the frontiers of India. Germany had the most powerful army in the world, she was building a great fleet, and she was resolved, when the hour should come, to strike for world-power. Her ambitious ruler, William II, had restless energy and ill-balanced judgment. He talked much in war metaphors—the mailed fist, the sharp sword, shining armour. Nothing, he said, must be done in any part of the world without Germany's consent; God called him to lead his people to new heights of power; they were superior to all other peoples. In schools and universities, from the pulpit and the press, was proclaimed, with exultant confidence, the great destiny of Germany. She planned to dismember the British Empire. In 1913 the

Kaiser, at a secret meeting of leaders in German trade, promised that the Germans should take India, Australia, and Canada, and divide up a vast booty.

Austria's Ultimatum to Serbia.—Clearly trouble was brewing in Europe, and a tragic event brought it to a head. On June 28th, 1914, when Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, was driving through the streets of the little town of Sarajevo in the Austrian province of Bosnia, lying near the Serbian frontier, a bomb was thrown into his carriage, and both he and his wife were shot and killed. The Archduke is supposed to have had the design of uniting under Austria's lead the Slav peoples of Southern Europe—a plan which would have baulked Serbia's ambition. Without doubt some Serb conspirators were involved in the atrocious murder. Austria had long desired to teach Serbia a lesson. She now received the assurance of support from Germany, and issued to Serbia, on July 24th, a drastic ultimatum; since Serbia had proved herself a bad neighbour, she must suppress all societies and publications hostile to Austria, and permit Austrian officials to direct in Serbia this work of repression. Serbia was given forty-eight hours in which to accept these demands. Her life as a nation hung in the balance. She replied that she would accept all the demands which did not impair her own sovereignty, and that on disputed points she would accept the judgment of the Hague Tribunal or of the great powers of Europe. Austria was bent on crushing Serbia. The reply, she said, was evasive, and on July 28th she declared war.

3. THE COMBATANT NATIONS

Beginning of the Great War, 1914.—Looking back now across the half-ruin of the world by the war which followed, we wonder that the leaders of Europe could have played so lightly with the forces at their command. Austria thought to do her will in Serbia, while Germany held off Russia. Germany, for her part, intended to gain her ends

by the threat of war or, if this failed, by war itself. Russia would not accept the ruin of her influence in the Balkans and looked to her ally, France. Austria invaded Serbia. When Russia began, on July 29th, to mobilise her army against Austria, Germany gave Russia twelve hours to stop this movement, and there is evidence to show that she instructed her ambassador to France to demand that France should repudiate her alliance with Russia, and, as guarantee of good faith, hand over to Germany for the duration of the war the two powerful French fortresses, Toul and Verdun. By August 3rd, Germany and Austria-Hungary were at war with France and Russia.

Britain Enters the War.—Those were breathless days, and all the world asked what would Britain do? While she had a friendly understanding with both France and Russia, she was not pledged to take part in a war due to disputes in the Balkans. Though British public opinion ran high against Germany as the chief instigator of trouble, there was hesitation about plunging into war. During a critical week Sir Edward Grey, the foreign minister, had made every possible effort to avert war. Since the French fleet was in the Mediterranean, he warned Germany that the British fleet would protect the coasts of Northern France. This showed sufficiently the drift of British public opinion. But Germany would not be warned. She believed that the British were a degenerate nation, thinking only of money and sport, and that the imminence of civil war in Ireland tied their hands. She despised the military power of huge, ill-organized, and corrupt Russia, and she was certain that by a rapid invasion of France she could occupy Paris within a fortnight and dictate terms as conqueror. Then she would be supreme on the continent. If at a later time Britain should dare to challenge this, her turn would come next.

The Invasion of Belgium.—To strike at France a quick and deadly blow, Germany would have to march across neutral Belgium, which, with the little state of Luxemburg,

covered half the northern frontier of France. By solemn treaty Germany and Britain and France were pledged not to violate the neutrality of Belgium. Germany had, however, been taught by her military leaders that in war nothing matters but victory, and on August 3rd, her armies invaded Belgium. On August 4th, the German chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, said in the Reichstag that to invade Belgium was a lawless act, justified only because necessity respects no law and Germany must hack her way through. When the British ambassador at Berlin gave Germany until midnight of that day to draw back, on penalty of war, the chancellor in great excitement said that "just for a word, neutrality . . . just for a scrap of paper"—the treaty regarding Belgium—Britain was breaking old ties of friendship. The German midnight was eleven o'clock in Britain, and from that hour the two nations were at war.

The Whole British Empire at War.—There was never serious doubt that the whole British Empire would unite to meet a common danger. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and India sprang to arms. South Africa, so recently the scene of a war between Boer and Briton, was now a self-governing British state, with Sir Louis Botha, a former Boer general, as prime minister. Germany held South-West Africa, and German agents were busy among some of the Boers, who treasured resentments aroused by the recent war. When Botha proposed to join in the war, rebellion broke out and might have proved formidable but for his rapid and effective action. He proclaimed martial law, and with slight bloodshed the rebellion was suppressed. In the hour of success Botha showed a wise clemency, which softened the bitterness of the conflict, and South Africa soon played an effective part in the war. In the face of terrible difficulties Botha himself led an army into German South-West Africa, to share in the long, difficult, but, in the end, successful task of conquest. With hardly a dissentient voice the whole British Empire faced the vast sacrifices which the war involved.

The Allies on Each Side.—Germany drew to herself allies. She had long courted influence in Turkey, which was a vital link in her design for world-power. In October, 1914, Turkey joined Germany in the war. Another Balkan State, Bulgaria, hesitated for a year still, but in October, 1915, joined Germany. This cut Russia off from the Mediterranean, and menaced Britain in her position in Egypt and in the control of the Suez Canal, vital to quick communication with India. The Sultan of Turkey, as the leader of Islam, declared a Holy War against Britain and her allies. Since seventy million Moslems live under British rule in India, this appeal to religious passions involved danger. But the Indian princes stood firmly loyal. Britain had two other important allies. From the first, Japan declared war on Germany, took all that Germany had held in the Chinese province of Shantung, and swept the German flag from the adjacent seas. Italy, nominally Germany's ally, but with grievances of her own against Austria, joined the side of France and Britain in 1915. Then every great power in the world was involved, except the United States. In the end, but only after long waiting, the United States also entered the war on the allied side.

The Sacrifices of the War.—Britain had not only to retain command of the sea but also to create a great army to fight on land wherever need should arise. To tell of her varied efforts would require many volumes. Within a week of the outbreak of war, not a German trading-vessel was sailing the high seas. The great German fleet was sealed up in German ports, and the few warships at large in various parts of the world were doomed to destruction. Early in the war, Britain's most famous soldier, Lord Kitchener, was made Secretary of State for War. From the outset he declared that the struggle would last for at least three years—a hard saying, to prove grimly true. He was destined himself, long before the end, when on his way to Russia, to go down in 1916 in a ship sunk by a German submarine. During the war the British Empire performed

the amazing feat of enlisting more than 9,000,000 men for the land and sea forces, of whom about one-quarter—2,300,000—belonged to the Dominions, India, and the Colonies. Of this vast host the losses in killed, wounded, and missing were 3,266,723, and the killed numbered the



FIELD-MARSHAL EARL KITCHENER
(1850-1916)

awful total of 947,364. In the far-flung Empire not a foot of British territory, except in East Africa, was occupied by the enemy during the war. For the last two years of the war Britain kept, in France and Belgium alone, a fighting force of two million men. France raised forces on a similar scale, as also did Germany, the chief enemy nation. About 60,000,000 men were recruited in the armies of the world. In all man's history, war had never before been waged by such vast numbers and

with losses so terrible. The debts piled up exceeded anything before dreamed of in finance.

4. THE BATTLES OF THE MARNE, THE AISNE, AND YPRES

The Overrunning of Belgium.—By rapid action at the outset, Germany secured the coal and the factories of Northern France and of Belgium, and to force her back in this area was the most urgent aim of the Allies. Within a fortnight Sir John French led 80,000 trained troops to France, and more quickly followed. The German emperor described it as a "contemptible little army." It was at least small as compared with the vast host of more than a million men which the Germans threw into France, but it was of fine quality. General French pushed northward into Belgium as far as Mons. But the triumphant Germans quickly overran Belgium. They aimed to break their foes by

inspiring stark terror. To the horror of the world they burned the great library and committed other devastation in the university town of Louvain. They burned smaller towns and shot hundreds of helpless Belgian civilians. Many women and even small children perished. Later, the Germans carried off 100,000 Belgians to forced labour in Germany which was really slavery. Within three weeks after the outbreak of the war, the great fortresses of Liège and Namur, attacked by shells which would crash through twelve feet of concrete, fell and left wide open a door into France.

The Stand at the Marne.—The Germans so pressed the British at Mons that, on August 23rd, to avoid being surrounded, they began a retreat. In stifling heat, harassed by numbers treble their own, they marched, sometimes thirty miles a day, often without food or sleep, along roads dotted by terror-stricken refugees from French towns and villages, for one hundred and seventy miles, until in six days they crossed the Marne. But the Germans were overconfident. They, too, crossed the Marne and were within forty miles of Paris. The day came, September 5th, when the French leader, General Joffre, said that the defenders of France must die where they stood rather than yield a further foot of ground. When the French attacked the exposed flank of the Germans on the west and forced them to retire, the British gladly turned back, re-crossed the Marne, and joined in the pursuit of the retreating Germans. These at last took their stand with the Aisne River at the front, and then began what was to be the most impressive feature of the war. Along a line stretching for three hundred and fifty miles, from the coast of Belgium to the frontier of Switzerland, two great armies confronted each other during four years of desperate effort.

The Second German Effort in 1914.—The check at the Marne was decisive. It made impossible a rapid German victory, and involved a long war, in which the resources of the Allies proved the greater. After the Marne the Allies

hoped to outflank the right of the Germans and to press them back out of Belgium. The Kaiser, on the other hand, had promised his soldiers that by Christmas Day they should be back in their homes victorious. If they could seize the whole coast of Belgium and of Northern France, they could, from Calais and other ports, attack British shipping in the Channel, impede the sending of troops to France, and perhaps secure an early peace with victory. Indeed, before the war ended, the Germans had a gun with a range of seventy miles. Thus at Calais they could have thrown shells on English towns. After the Marne they reached the sea in Belgium. On September 28th, they bombarded the forts protecting Antwerp, and a few days later that rich Belgian seaport surrendered. Then the Germans poured into the seaport of Ostend. But near Ostend they were stopped. They could not pass rivers and canals protected by dikes and marshes, behind which the Belgians fought desperately to prevent this last small remnant of their country from being overrun. A little inland, in a fertile plain with many gardens, stood the ancient city of Ypres. If the Germans could get past Ypres, their way to Calais would be clear. The British were defending Ypres, while the French held the line farther south. The Germans were in a hurry. They had 1,500,000 men on this front to throw against 500,000 of the Allies, ten machine-guns to one of their foes, and vast superiority in artillery. From October 21st, for three terrible weeks, on a front of forty miles, the Germans hurled great forces against Ypres and the rest of the Allied line. They had 200,000 casualties; and of the defenders, the British alone had 40,000. But the line did not break, and Calais was never taken.

5. THE WAR ON THE SEA

The "Lusitania."—During four long years there was on land nothing decisive, but on the sea Britain's mastery was secure from the first. She lost, indeed, some seven million

tons of merchant shipping. The Germans strewed on the sea-routes explosive mines, which destroyed many a good ship. But their submarines wrought the greatest havoc. The rule hitherto followed in war was that an enemy might sink a merchant ship only when the crew and passengers had been removed to a place of safety. But the Germans claimed that the submarine was not known when these rules of warfare were framed, that the submarine was a frail vessel easily destroyed, and that its safety lay in striking while itself unseen. The whole world was horrified when, on May 7th, 1915, the great British ship, the *Lusitania*, with some twelve hundred passengers, was sunk off the coast of Ireland, and about a thousand civilians perished, including more than a hundred Americans. It seemed that such an outrage must bring the United States at once into the war against Germany. President Wilson addressed to her some menacing notes, but for the time the crisis passed without war.

The Destruction of the German Pacific Squadron.—The German fleet ranked second in the navies of the world, and the British hoped for a trial of strength in one great battle. Few knew that the Grand Fleet, silent and invisible, was stationed at Scapa Flow, a land-locked harbour in the Orkneys on the hard and desolate north-east coast of Scotland. From time to time Admiral Jellicoe, with Sir David Beatty as his chief lieutenant, led his vast array on cruises in the North Sea. Months passed without a great battle, though there were stirring minor incidents both in the North Sea and elsewhere. On November 1st, 1914, when Admiral Cradock, with three warships and a merchant ship, sighted off Cape Coronel, on the coast of Chile in South America, the German Pacific squadron of five cruisers under Admiral Von Spee, he gave battle at once. In an hour all was over. Cradock's two big ships, *Good Hope* and *Monmouth*, were sunk with 1,600 men, no one of whom was ever heard of again. The swift cruiser, *Glasgow*, however, got away, and the disaster was quickly avenged.

A powerful British fleet under Admiral Sturdee left England secretly and reached the Falkland Isles just when, on December 7th, the German fleet neared the islands, hoping to destroy the last remnant of the British fleet and to seize coal. A running fight followed, and before night four of the German cruisers were sunk. The admiral with more than a thousand men perished, and the British rescued some hundreds from the sea. A little later they destroyed the fifth and last of Von Spee's cruisers.

The Battle of Jutland, May 31st, 1916.—Meanwhile in Europe the inevitable great battle was long delayed. Heli-goland, a bare rock some thirty miles off the mouth of the Kiel Canal, in the North Sea, was a German base for submarines, destroyers, and air-craft. From this impregnable area light German squadrons raided the English coast, but the main German fleet stayed in port. After long and anxious watching, a decisive event happened. On May 31st, 1916, Jellicoe, with his squadron of great battle-ships, was near the coast of Norway. Beatty, with the squadron of lighter cruisers, was following forty miles behind. Early in the afternoon, Beatty's squadron spied the whole German fleet moving also northward, along the coast of Jutland in Denmark. Probably the Germans had not known that the British fleet was out. Beatty might have avoided a fight until Jellicoe's battle-ships could share in it. But this would have left the Germans free to return to port if they liked. While urging Jellicoe by a wireless message to hurry southward, Beatty altered his course and joined battle. When we remember that the fighting ships were often ten miles apart, we are amazed at the accuracy of the fire. Beatty's squadron fought alone for two hours, until Jellicoe came up in overwhelming force, with only an hour of daylight left. The German admiral then saw that it was time to get away, and, making dense screens of smoke, he turned southward to the protection of home ports. Jellicoe might have followed in the darkness; but the danger in shallow water from mines and

torpedoes was great, and he dared not risk the fleet which kept Britain safe. The British had the heavy loss of six great ships and nine destroyers. The extent of the German losses has not been made known clearly. Probably they were greater than the losses of the British. It is reasonably certain that with an hour more of daylight their whole fleet would have been destroyed. Never again did it venture out, and two and a half years later the vast array which fought at Jutland surrendered to Britain, and most of the ships now lie at the bottom of the sea.

6. THE STRUGGLE DURING FOUR YEARS IN FRANCE AND BELGIUM

The Machinery of War.—While the work of the fleet was silent and unobserved, except during the hours of swift encounter, the strife on the western front was watched intently by the whole world. Every day was crowded with incidents; every day men died, sometimes in hundreds, often in thousands, until the world grew hardened to the thought of bloodshed. During wet seasons in the flat region about Ypres, men stood in trenches with water almost to their waists, facing, over a parapet of sand bags, an enemy often less than a hundred feet away. To show a hat was to draw a deadly bullet. In the desolate stretch between the trenches, called "No Man's Land," swept by the opposing fire, no man could live, and there, for weeks the dead lay unburied. Snipers, concealed by trees or other protection, watched their opponents as hunters watch for game, and killed hundreds of brave men. In the darkness men would creep up to the opposing trenches and seize and carry off prisoners or throw devastating bombs. Barbed wire in triple or quadruple rows sometimes protected the rival lines. The strife never ceased, winter or summer. In the darkness searchlights played on any supposed point of danger. Artillery concentrated a fire more terrible than anything before imagined, until across Belgium and France there was a broad strip of blackened

ruin, with only low heaps of stones to mark what had once been fair towns and villages. The armies learned to advance against the opposing lines behind a moving screen of shells falling thick as rain. The Germans built vast airships, called from their inventor, "Zeppelins," six or seven hundred feet long, which could carry many tons of bombs.



THE WEST FRONT, FRANCE AND BELGIUM, 1914-1918

These wrought havoc in Paris and London; but their great bulk made them an easy target, and many were destroyed. The aeroplanes were more effective. Squadrons of them fought in the air. They directed the fire of artillery, photographed enemy lines, dropped deadly bombs on crowded highways and on trenches, and did much to wear out the nerves of men helpless to combat this swooping menace

from the air. The Germans began the dread practice of dropping bombs on open towns. London suffered terribly from this kind of warfare.

1915, Neuve Chapelle: The Second Battle of Ypres.—The year 1915 saw nothing decisive. The British thought that, if they could break the German line at Neuve Chapelle in front of the great French city of Lille, they might cause a retreat. Accordingly, on March 10th, 1915, began a bombardment of the German line so terrific that a German officer said: "This is not war, this is murder." The British broke through on a front of two miles; but the main German line held; and the British began to learn the hard lesson, that only a break on a wide front could be effective. In the spring of 1915 the Germans still planned to reach Calais. At St. Julien, near Ypres, on April 22nd, late in the afternoon, a gentle breeze carried from the German lines a cloud of green and yellowish vapour. Suddenly in the Allied lines men clutched their throats, and some fell writhing in agony. The vapour was poison gas. The nations had agreed that this deadly thing should not be used in war, and the Germans lived to regret the day when they broke this agreement. It was Canadian troops against whom the poison gas was first used. But in spite of its awful effects their line held, and by standing firm they probably saved Calais. This second struggle at Ypres lasted six weeks and cost the British 20,000 men. In September the Allies fought the terrific battle of Loos, in the hope of regaining the French coal centre of Lens, but they effected little. Already it was clear that the war would be a war of endurance, each side struggling desperately to wear down the other.

1916, Verdun and the Somme.—At the end of 1915 Sir Douglas Haig took over the chief British command from Sir John French. Unceasing efforts to break the enemy's line followed in both 1916 and 1917. The Germans lost 400,000 men in 1916 in attacks on the French at Verdun and failed. On July 1st, of the same year, partly to relieve

the pressure at Verdun, the British began the Battle of the Somme, which lasted for months, but without decisive results. Before the end of 1916 the British had invented a new and effective implement of warfare—the tanks, moving steel forts crawling over the ground like caterpillars. Mr. Lloyd George, as Minister of Munitions, was



FIELD MARSHAL EARL HAIG, (b. 1861)

achieving wonders in the British workshops. Public opinion fixed on him as the leader who could win the war; and in December, 1916, he replaced Mr. Asquith as prime minister. The party system was for the time dead. Both Mr. Asquith and his successor were supported by Liberals and Conservatives alike.

1917, Arras, Vimy Ridge, and Ypres Again.—The next year, 1917, was still barren. True, the long Battle of the Somme had shown the Germans that they could not hold their advanced line, and in the spring of 1917 they retired on a front of sixty miles to a new defence, called the Hindenburg Line, leaving behind them a broad stretch of blackened ruin, with not a house, not even a fruit-tree, left standing. All through the dreadful summer of 1917 the fighting went on. At fearful cost the British fought about Arras, and in the end the Canadians captured the dominating Vimy Ridge. But farther south a great French effort failed. About Ypres in the north there was a third grim series of battles. At the cost of a million pounds of explosives, the British literally blew up the Messines Ridge held by the Germans and pushed their line back. The mud and slime caused by heavy rains made very costly the later

capture of the ridge of Passchendaele. In spite of brilliant successes the outlook for the Allies at the end of 1917 was depressing. In Russia, which, with fearful loss, had for a time menaced Germany and Austria from the east, revolution had broken out, and the Soviet government came to terms with Germany, and thus freed her hands for greater effort in the west. Italy suffered a great military disaster at Caporetto, and only with Allied aid was able to hold a line which kept Venice safe.

7. GERMANY'S SUPREME EFFORT IN 1918

1917, Unlimited Submarine Warfare; The United States in the War.—The German naval leaders believed that unlimited submarine warfare carried on for six months would ruin Britain. Accordingly, Germany gave notice to the world, that from February 1st, 1917, she would permit no sea traffic within certain defined areas which covered the coasts of Britain, France, Italy, and the eastern Mediterranean. Ships, enemy or neutral, entering these areas, would be sunk without warning. Britain, Germany said, was starving German women and children by her rigorous blockade, and, to stop this, all means were right against enemy ships. Germany went so far as to sink hospital ships laden with the sick, and her submarine commanders fired upon the small boats in which civilian crews and passengers were escaping from sinking merchant ships. The resolve to make her defeat complete was intensified by this ruthlessness. A strong Germany, the Allies felt, would be a menace to the whole world. The United States, the only great power in the world not already in the war, was notified by Germany that one American passenger ship a week might sail the forbidden sea to Britain; but she must take a route and be painted and carry lights in a manner prescribed by Germany; and she must arrive and depart on days named by Germany. This arrogant dictation to a great neutral nation stirred intense anger in the United States. But Germany's last hope was in submarine warfare;

she would not draw back and her incredible recklessness forced the United States to declare war on April 2nd, 1917. Germany believed that she could win the war in Europe before the great resources of the United States could be made effective.

1918, Germany's Last Great Effort.—She made a stupendous effort. In the early days of 1918, the Allies knew that they were facing a supreme crisis. American forces were pouring into Europe; by midsummer nearly 2,000,000 men had arrived; but they were, as yet, badly equipped and not fully trained for war. Every day, however, they were becoming a more formidable host, and the position of Germany was growing desperate. Her allies, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria, were already tottering. Russia was, however, no longer a danger. Rumania, which had joined the Allies in 1916, had been overrun and lay prostrate under the German heel. Germany seemed to have a gambler's chance to make a stroke which should give her a victorious peace. But she would have to strike early, for Britain and France had now the greater equipment for war, and owing to the blockade by sea the German people lacked food.

1918, The Allied Disasters, March-July.—On March 21st, 1918, Germany began her terrific stroke. At St. Quentin, on the line defending the great French city of Amiens, 800,000 Germans were hurled against 300,000 British. The British were forced into a disorderly retreat and lost 70,000 prisoners and a great quantity of guns and stores. Less than three weeks later, on April 9th, before the British had recovered from this staggering blow, the Germans struck again, this time before Ypres. The cost to the British of four years of heavy fighting about Ypres had been a quarter of a million men, and now, in a few days, all that they had gained was lost. It was some relief to the Allies that, in this same month, on the 22nd, the British, by a daring naval raid on the Belgian harbour of Zeebrugge, so injured it that it became of little use as a base for German submarines. A few days later, with

amazing audacity, they did the same thing at Ostend. On the sea they were sure of victory. On land, after British reverses, came the turn of the French. On May 27th, the Germans broke through the French centre near Rheims, and by the middle of July they had again crossed the Marne and were within forty miles of Paris. To an astounded world it seemed as if Germany had France in her grasp and might soon occupy Paris. The British people never believed that they could be finally beaten; but they began to think that their armies might be driven from France and that, held safe only by power on the sea, they might very slowly recover the strength for final victory. In the crisis the British, Americans, and French did a wise thing. They placed their forces under one united command, that of the French General, Foch.

8. THE COLLAPSE OF GERMANY AND HER ALLIES

1918, German Defeat at Château-Thierry and Amiens.
—The Germans overreached themselves. They counted too much on the exhaustion of their foes. Within two weeks of the disaster at St. Quentin, the British landed 250,000 fresh troops in France. American troops, carried largely in British ships, were arriving at the rate of ten thousand a day. Foch was a master of the whole art of war. He knew how to bide his time. The farther the Germans advanced into France, the longer became their line of communications and the more unprotected their flanks. Foch waited until the long German line stretched nearly to Paris. Then, on July 15th, the French and the Americans struck a sudden and unexpected blow near Château-Thierry. While the Germans were parrying this blow and in danger of having their advanced forces cut off, the British made a terrific attack farther north, and on August 8th, they cut through the German line on the Somme front near Amiens. They had now quantities of small "whippet" tanks, which could cross a rough battle-field at a rapid rate, and these

caused terror among the German soldiers. August 8th, as the German General, Ludendorff, has said, is the decisive date of the war. From the hour of that defeat he knew that a German victory was impossible.

The Fall of Bagdad and Jerusalem to the British.—Omens bad for Germany slowly gathered in other parts of the world. The British were learning how to fight the submarine and were destroying so many that terror of this service was spreading in the German navy. In the east the British had had severe reverses. When Turkey joined in the war, the British planned to sail up the long, narrow strait, the Dardanelles, and capture Constantinople. But the mines defending the tortuous strait destroyed many a good ship. Then the British and French tried to seize the peninsula of Gallipoli, forming the west side of the strait. It was in the desperate fighting on this bleak and rocky coast that the Anzacs—the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps—became famous for their valour. But all attacks failed, and in October, 1915, the Allies withdrew, having suffered no less than 120,000 casualties, with nearly 40,000 dead or missing. This disaster in Turkey in Europe had a bad effect farther east, in Turkey in Asia. In 1915 the British, with an army from India, advanced to take Bagdad in Mesopotamia. But they were checked, and in April, 1916, General Townshend, with his whole army, surrendered at Kut. Early in 1917, however, the British General, Maude, by brilliant strategy, captured Bagdad and restored British prestige in the east. A little later the British took another famous ancient capital held by the Turk. On December 9th, 1917, Jerusalem fell. Soon from the Mediterranean to India British influence was supreme.

The Surrender of Germany, November 11, 1918.—Germany's three allies were the first to give up the fight. On September 30th, 1918, Bulgaria surrendered unconditionally. A month later Turkey did the same, and in the early days of November so also did Austria-Hungary. Meanwhile Germany had been trying to withdraw her

forces from France, and she inflicted severe losses on the pursuing British and French. In taking Cambrai, for instance, the Canadians lost heavily. But the Allies captured 385,000 prisoners and thousands of guns, and the power of Germany was soon in utter collapse. When, early in November, orders were given to the German fleet to go to sea for a last desperate venture, the men mutinied. A republic was soon proclaimed at Berlin, and on November 9th, the German emperor abdicated and took refuge in Holland. The long war was over. On November 11th, the Germans signed an armistice, admitting complete defeat. They surrendered vast supplies of arms, including five thousand cannon, thirty thousand machine-guns, and two thousand fighting aeroplanes. Ten days^a after the signing of the armistice, there was witnessed probably the most impressive sight in British naval history. A German fleet of five huge battle-cruisers, nine battleships, seven light cruisers, and many other vessels, steamed into the Firth of Forth and there surrendered to the British fleet. The German ships were interned and unwisely left in charge of German crews. For six months they lay at Scapa Flow, and then, by secret orders of the German admiralty, most of them were sunk by their crews. Such was the end of the Kaiser's plan to outmatch British sea-power.

9. THE TERMS OF PEACE

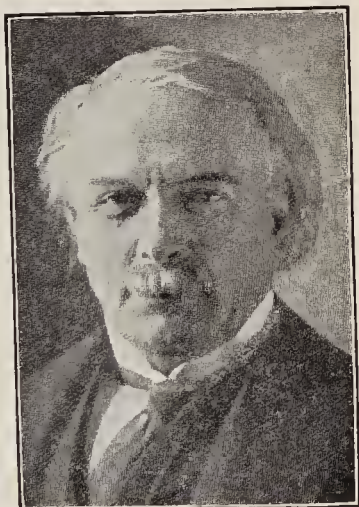
Anger at German Barbarity.—There was a deep exasperation against Germany because of her ruthless methods. In France and Belgium she had removed or ruined machinery in factories, so as to cripple permanently industries which might rival her own. She had deported Belgians and French into slavery in Germany. She had begun the forbidden use of poison gas and the practice of dropping bombs on undefended towns. On the few occasions when her warships had ventured across the North Sea, they had thrown shells into unfortified English towns and caused

loss of life. One deed of the Germans which caused outraged protest was the shooting at Brussels of the English nurse, Miss Edith Cavell. By helping in the escape of English soldiers from territory held by the Germans, Miss Cavell was undoubtedly guilty of a grave offence, but the eagerness with which the Germans inflicted the death penalty on this gentle lady stirred deep passions in England. In the case of Captain Fryatt, the Germans had no plea of violated law. He was in command of a merchant ship, and when attacked by a submarine, he tried to ram it. He saved his ship, but later, when he fell into the hands of the Germans, he was summarily shot for conduct that was quite defensible. These incidents had caused Britain to resolve never to sheathe the sword until she had overthrown the military system which made them possible. France and Belgium remembered wrongs deeper and more varied, and when the victorious Allies met in 1919 at Paris, the terms of peace were certain to be stern.

The Fall of Germany.—Germany now ceded to France Alsace-Lorraine, and to the new republic of Poland the Polish territory seized in the eighteenth century. All her overseas possessions Germany also gave up. She admitted that the war had been caused by her aggressions, and she agreed that the Kaiser and other Germans accused by the Allies should be tried before impartial tribunals. The Kaiser was in fact never put on trial, for Holland, to which he had fled, refused to give him up. Germany agreed to repair the damages to the civilian population which she had caused in France and Belgium and elsewhere, and in addition to pay indemnities so vast that they would involve a crushing burden for half a century. To ensure payment, she was, during at least fifteen years, to have her territory on the west bank of the Rhine occupied by the Allies. The proud military state was indeed fallen.

The League of Nations.—To the British Empire the war brought greatly increased responsibilities. The allied nations agreed that the victors should not consider as their

own conquered territory beyond Europe, but should administer it as a trust in the interest of the inhabitants. Included in the Peace Treaty, signed at Versailles in 1919, was the plan for a League of Nations, which should in time include all the nations and should have as its chief aim the settling of disputes among them without recourse to war. The League of Nations thus formed was to protect the interests of the less advanced peoples and to issue what were called "Mandates" to the states named to administer the territories taken from Germany and her allies. Under these mandates, German East Africa and German South-West Africa, Samoa, and other German islands in the Pacific became parts of the British Empire. By a singular turn of fortune, Britain was left in control of three regions famous in Biblical history and formerly part of the Turkish Empire — Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Egypt. The President of the United States, Mr. Woodrow Wilson, sat in the Peace Conference and signed the treaty on behalf of the United States. But the United States could be bound only with the sanction of its Senate. This body rejected the treaty, and, in consequence, the United States did not become a member of the League of Nations—a fact which has somewhat weakened the influence of the League. Later, the United States made a separate peace with Germany.



DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, (b. 1863)

10. THE SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE WAR

The Unrest of Labour.—The war left victors and vanquished with crushing burdens of taxation. One-fifth of the total cost had been borne by Great Britain. She had

now a debt of about one hundred and sixty-five pounds for every man, woman, and child of her population. Canada's debt, caused by the war, was great, but it was on a scale of only about one-third of that of Britain. In Britain social upheaval has followed the war. Old families in increasing numbers have been obliged by taxation and high prices to sell their estates. Country houses, formerly the scene of a stately hospitality, have been sold or closed, and a class of newly poor is found side by side with one of the newly rich, who have profited by industry and trade due to war. Labour felt that a war for liberty won by the sacrifices of the toilers should bring them greater ease and freedom, and demanded not only higher pay and shorter hours, but an effective share in the control of industry. After the war men were unwilling to accept reductions which employers declared to be inevitable if they were to continue in business. The war left most of Europe prostrate and brought in its train a decline in trade, resulting in unemployment on a great scale. The British nation faced its tasks heroically, and within three years after the end of the war, had begun to pay off its vast debt.

Women in the War.—The war brought finally to women the right to vote, for which extremists had long carried on a violent and sometimes lawless agitation. It was the noble war efforts of women which led to success. They gave every service except that of taking part in actual fighting. For the navy, the army, and the air forces, they performed varied duties which freed men for the work of combatants. They served in hospitals; they drove motor lorries; they worked in munition factories, in public offices, and in the fields, when the men were called away to war. The nation was grateful, and in 1918 Parliament enacted the Fourth of the Reform Bills. The women voters would have outnumbered the men had it not been provided that, while a male may vote at the age of twenty-one if he has lived six months in the constituency concerned, a female must be at least thirty and must also be a householder or married to a householder.

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The Rebellion in Ireland, 1916.—Women first voted in the election held just after the war, in December, 1918. The prime minister, Mr. Lloyd George, profited by the trust of the nation in a victorious leader and secured overwhelming support as head of a coalition ministry. He had to face many difficult problems, and especially that of Ireland. The outbreak of the war in 1914 had resulted in an agreement to defer the setting up of an Irish Parliament until peace should come. A few years earlier an Irish society, known as Sinn Fein ("We ourselves"), had been formed, and the members were pledged to an Irish Republic and to complete independence of England. When the energies of England were occupied in the war, the more restless spirits aimed to set up at once the Irish Republic. Germany, the enemy of England, gave help, and on April 20th, 1916, disguised as a merchant ship, a German war vessel, accompanied by a submarine, tried to land arms on the west coast of Ireland. The effort failed, but on April 24th, Easter Day, a rising took place in Dublin. The rebels seized the Post-office, the Law Courts, and other buildings, and proclaimed a provisional government with Padraic Pearse, a poet and idealist, as President of the Republic of Ireland. The next day German warships bombarded Lowestoft and Yarmouth on the east coast of England. In Dublin there was sharp fighting. Fire broke out, and property to the value of £2,000,000 was destroyed. On the British side alone there were more than five hundred casualties, with one hundred and twenty-four killed. By the end of the month the rebellion was sternly repressed, and a soldier, Sir John Maxwell, was charged with the task of preserving order and of punishing the guilty under martial law. He held not fewer than a thousand prisoners. On May 3rd, after trial by court-martial, Pearse was shot, with two other leaders. A dozen other executions followed. Sir Roger Casement, who had tried to seduce from their allegiance Irish prisoners in Germany, was tried in England and hanged. The rebellion lacked, at the time, wide

support in Ireland. But the execution of the leaders under martial law caused a reaction, and before long Southern Ireland was clamorously on the side of Sinn Fein.

The Triumph of Sinn Fein, 1918.—The leader of the Irish Nationalists, who desired Home Rule with continued British connection, was Mr. John Redmond, a man of fine character. He had given firm support to the British side in the war, but after the rebellion he lost control of the masses in Ireland. In the hope of settling the problem of Home Rule by agreement, an Irish Convention was called in 1917 and did useful work, but Sinn Fein held aloof, and Ulster was unyielding. Redmond died broken-hearted in 1918. In the election of that year, Sinn Fein defeated utterly the former Nationalist party. But the seventy-three members whom it elected refused to take their seats in the British Parliament, since they denied any political tie of Ireland with Britain.

The Home Rule Bill of 1920.—Sinn Fein now had its own Parliament, the Dail Eirann, which met secretly and claimed to be the lawful government of Ireland. It declared that a state of war existed between it and the so-called foreign government in London. Soon violence on one side, met by reprisals on the other, brought about in Ireland a dreadful state of affairs. Hundreds of people were killed. It was now clear, both that self-government must be given to Ireland, and that Ulster could not be coerced into accepting a single Parliament for Ireland, in which she would be in a minority. In 1920 the British Parliament passed a Home Rule Bill providing for two legislatures in Ireland, one for the six northern counties included in Ulster, and one for the twenty-six counties forming the rest of Ireland. Power was given to the two divisions to set up by agreement a Parliament for all Ireland. Forty-two members for Ireland, one for each 100,000 of her population, were to sit in the British Parliament. Ulster accepted this plan, but Sinn Fein repudiated any thought of dividing Ireland, and would recognize no other authority than the Dail Eirann.

The Irish Free State, 1922.—The Parliament of Northern Ireland was duly opened by King George V in April, 1921. He then made a stirring appeal for Irish unity, which did not go unanswered. Mr. Lloyd George, while declaring that England could never accept an Irish Republic, met in conference the republican leaders, and in the end made a treaty, under which, while the Republic was abandoned, Southern Ireland, to be called the Irish Free State, received self-government in the same measure that Canada is self-governing. This involved control of post-office, tariffs, and military forces, while reserving to Great Britain control in respect to naval defence. De Valera, the president of the so-called Irish Republic, opposed the treaty, chiefly on the ground that it retained the monarchy. But he was outvoted and resigned. A provisional government was set up in Ireland in 1921, the British troops evacuated the country, and after seven centuries of strife, Southern Ireland was left free to become self-governing, as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The problem of union between North and South remains as yet unsolved.

Egypt.—Ireland was only one of the grave problems made acute by the war. Egypt, though controlled by Britain, was nominally a province of Turkey, ruled by a sovereign called the Khedive. When in the Great War Turkey joined the German side, Britain promptly declared Egypt a separate state under British protection. After the war Egyptian Nationalists pressed the demand to be recognized as a sovereign nation. This Egypt had not been for many hundreds of years, but in 1922 Britain recognized the claim, reserving only certain rights to protect the Suez Canal, her chief route to India, and the interests of the foreign creditors of Egypt. Egypt now has her own king; she is not part of the British Empire, but she is under British protection.

The British people have not only performed great deeds; they have thought great thoughts, as their noble literature shows. They have scattered far, but they have clung to the traditions of their past. They had a king more than a thousand years ago, and they have a king still. Were Walpole and Chatham and Burke to attend the Parliament at Ottawa or Cape Town, they would witness old familiar ceremonies which have passed from Westminster to other British capitals scattered over the face of the earth. The story of Britain is not a melancholy record of greatness and decline, but one of expanding growth and influence. Decay is not the inevitable end, if a nation is true to its best self. Energy and alertness are always necessary, for danger is never absent. Nations have never finally achieved their tasks. They are always passing on to new ones. A true symbol of a virile people is the great ship battling the waves on a stormy sea and preserved by the knowledge, courage, and discipline of the crew.

The End

PRIME MINISTERS FROM WALPOLE TO LLOYD GEORGE

1721-1742	.....	Sir Robert Walpole
1742-1743	.....	Lord Wilmington
1743-1754	.....	Henry Pelham
1754-1756	.....I.	Duke of Newcastle
1756-1757	.....	Duke of Devonshire with William Pitt Secretary for War
1757-1762	.....II.	Duke of Newcastle
1762-1763	.....	Earl of Bute
1763-1765	.....	George Grenville
1765-1766	.....I.	Marquis of Rockingham
1766-1770	.....	Duke of Grafton
1770-1782	.....	Lord North
1782, March-July	.....II.	Marquis of Rockingham
1782-1783	.....	Earl of Shelburne
1783, April-December	.....I.	Duke of Portland with Fox and North in control
1783-1801	.....I.	William Pitt, the Younger
1801-1804	.....	Henry Addington (Viscount Sidmouth)
1804-1806	.....II.	William Pitt
1806-1807	.....	Lord Grenville's "Ministry of All the Talents"
1807-1809	.....II.	Duke of Portland
1809-1812	.....	Spencer Perceval
1812-1827	.....	Earl of Liverpool
1827, April-August	.....	George Canning
1827-1828	.....	Lord Goderich
1828-1830	.....	Duke of Wellington
1830-1834	.....	Earl Grey
1834, July-November	.....I.	Lord Melbourne
1834-1835	.....I.	Sir Robert Peel
1835-1841	.....II.	Lord Melbourne
1841-1846	.....II.	Sir Robert Peel
1846-1852	.....I.	Lord John Russell
1852, February-December	.....I.	Earl of Derby
1852-1855	.....	Earl of Aberdeen
1855-1858	.....I.	Lord Palmerston
1858-1859	.....II.	Earl of Derby
1859-1865	.....II.	Lord Palmerston
1865-1866	.....II.	Lord John Russell
1866-1868	.....III.	Earl of Derby
1868, February-December	.....I.	Benjamin Disraeli (Earl of Beaconsfield)
1868-1874	.....I.	W. E. Gladstone
1874-1880	.....II.	Benjamin Disraeli
1880-1885	.....II.	W. E. Gladstone
1885-1886	.....I.	Marquis of Salisbury
1886, February-July	.....III.	W. E. Gladstone
1886-1892	.....II.	Marquis of Salisbury
1892-1894	.....IV.	W. E. Gladstone
1894-1895	.....	Earl of Rosebery
1895-1902	.....III.	Marquis of Salisbury
1902-1905	.....	Arthur J. Balfour
1905-1908	Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman
1908-1916	H. H. Asquith
1916-	David Lloyd George

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